

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

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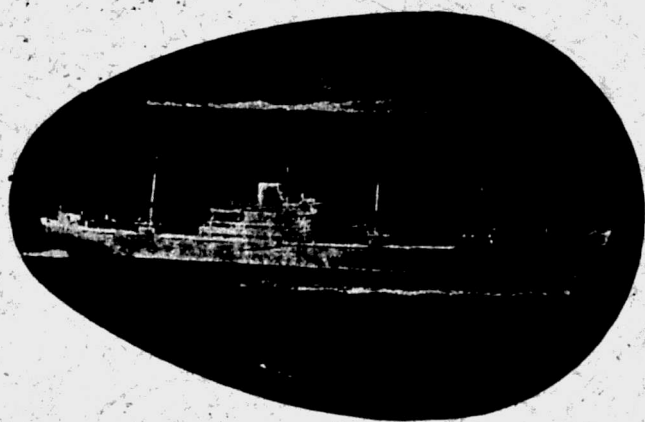
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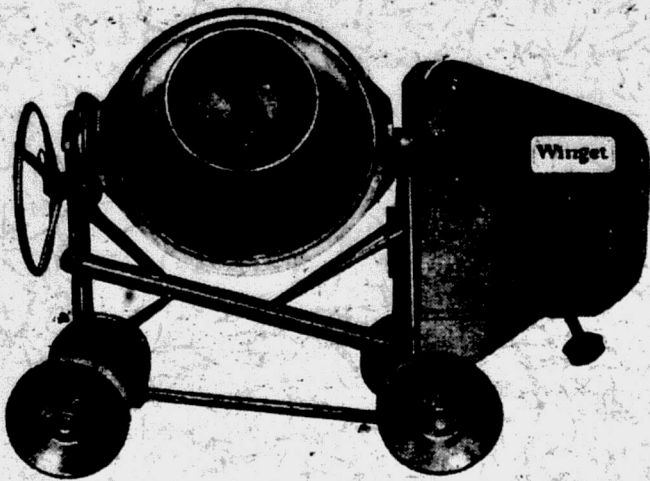
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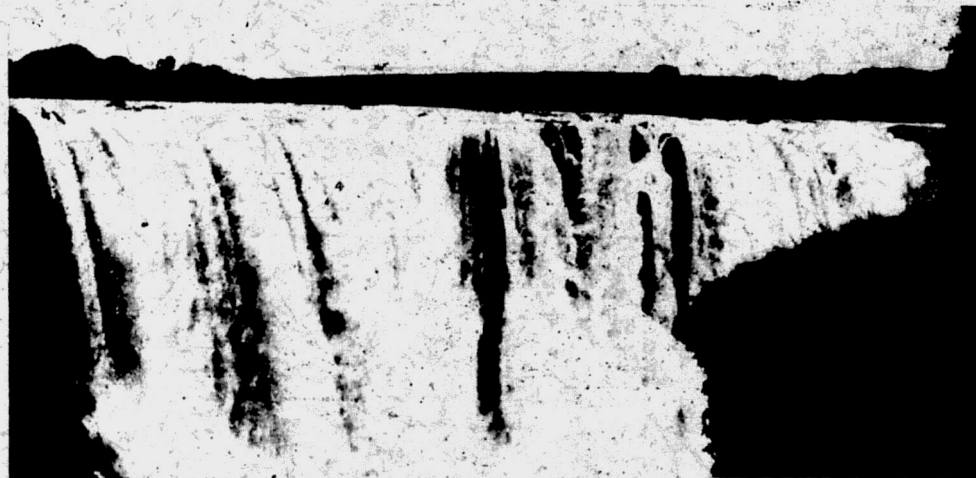
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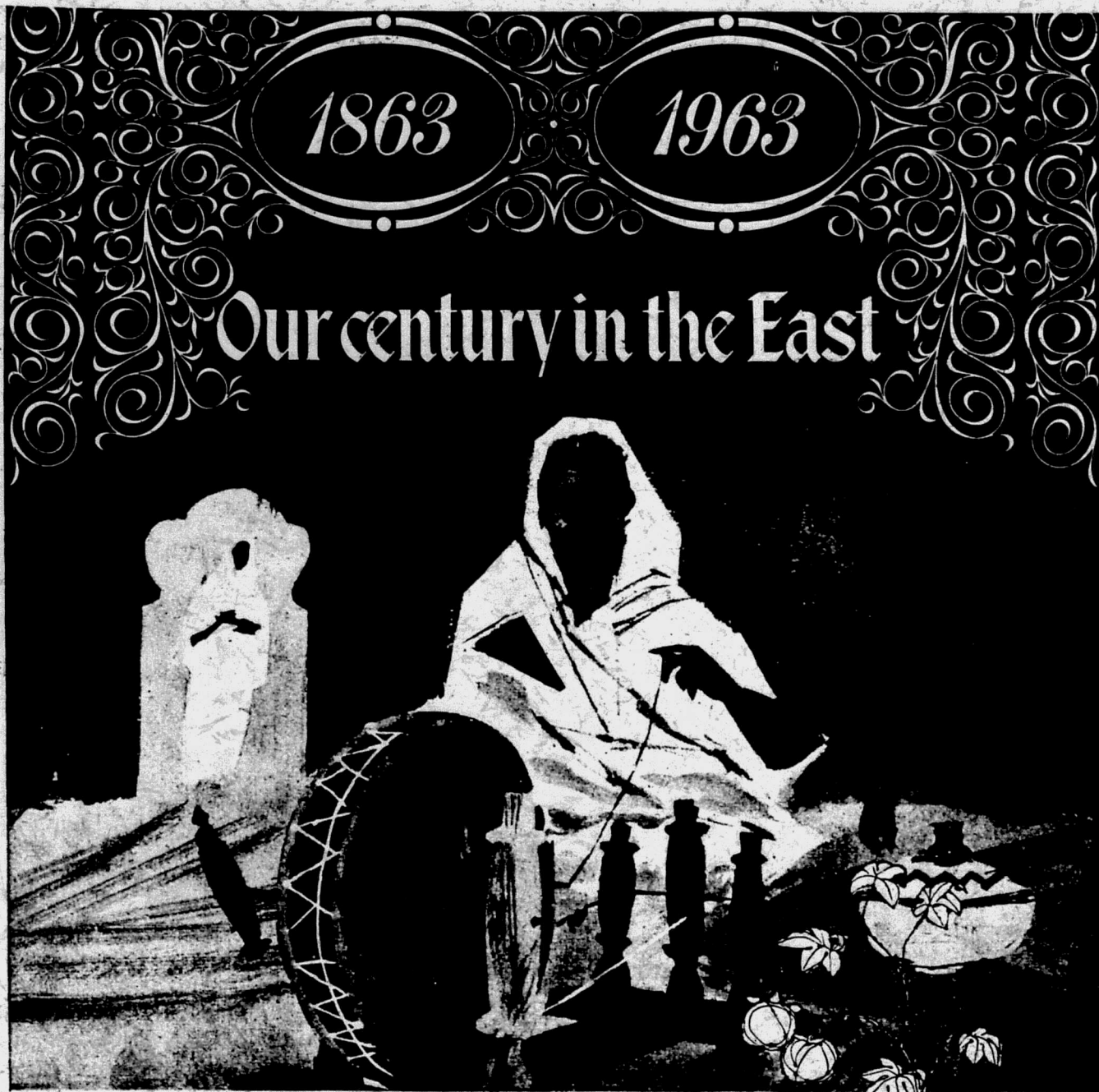
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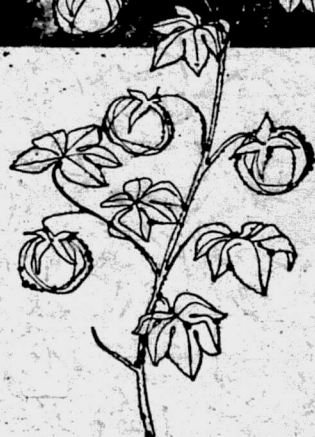
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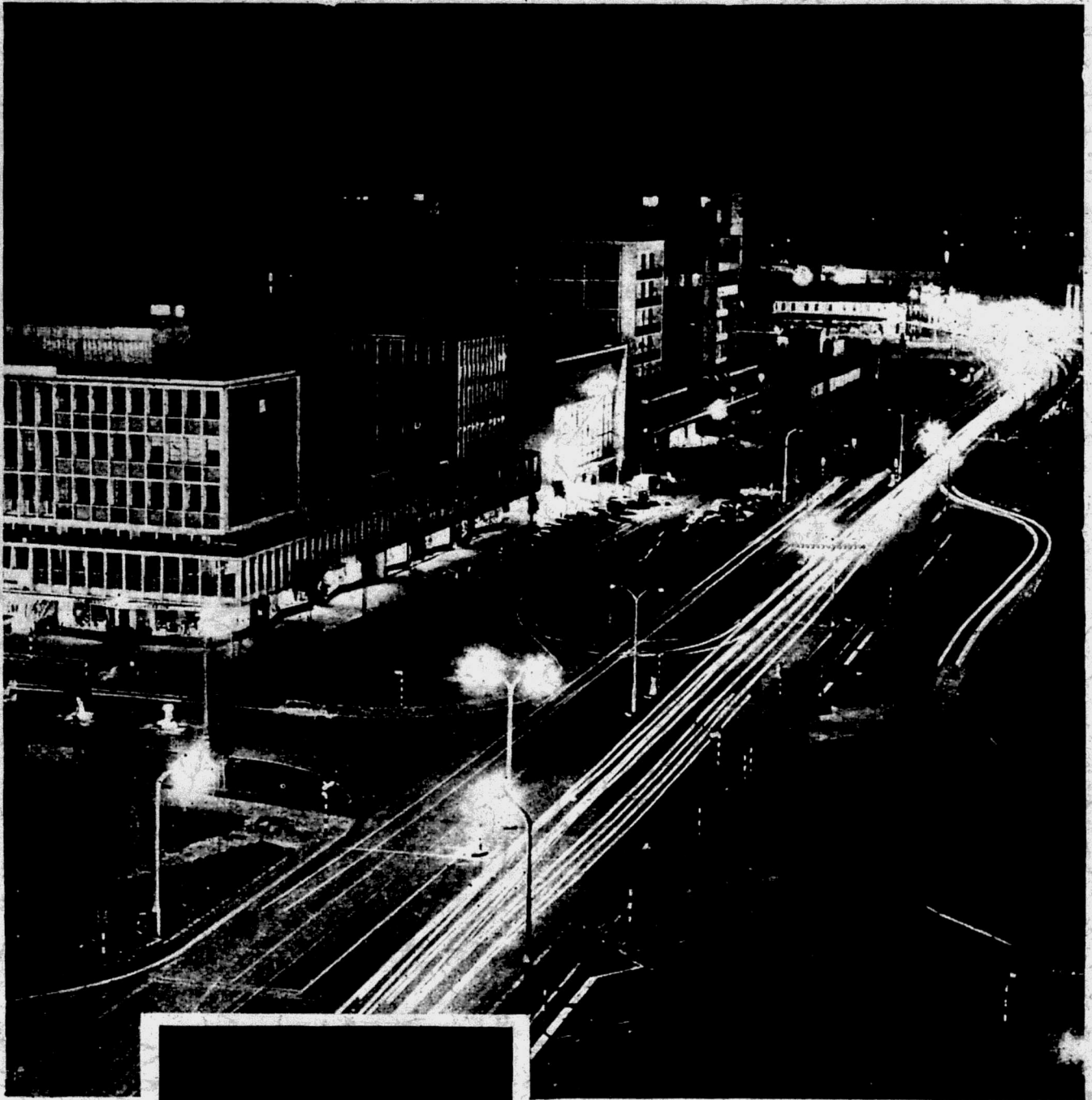


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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, JUNE 20, 1963

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

QUITE SOON, possibly before the end of next month, Mr. Macmillan — than whom no Prime Minister has wrought so much havoc in East and Central Africa — will no longer head a United Kingdom Government which has been staggeringly obedient to his dictatorship, a dictatorship disastrous for the Federation and Kenya in particular, which have suffered irreparable damage at his hands. A very high majority of the readers of this journal will therefore welcome his departure. Indeed, during the years of his Prime Ministership the number of occasions on which subscribers have volunteered the opinion that far less harm would have been done by a Socialist Government must have run into hundreds. Though Labour's policy would admittedly have differed little from that of the Macmillan Government, it would have been applied much more gradually, if only because the Socialists would have been under ceaseless criticism from the men who have tamely accepted from their own misleaders what they would have resented bitterly from the opposing party. The delays imposed by constant attack in Parliament would inevitably have benefitted East and Central Africa, for they would have gained time in which to train many more Africans for all kinds of responsibility. Some of the best of the African leaders have greatly regretted the pace of Macmillanism.

Three and a half years ago the Prime Minister spoke of a "wind of change" in Africa, soothingly declaring that individual merit, and individual merit alone, would be the criterion for political and other advancement in British African territories. That pledge, given in the South African Parliament of all

places, was promptly broken in the case of Kenya, and has ever since been consistently disregarded over the rest of East and Central Africa, where what was no more than a gentle breeze was whipped into a hurricane by the follies of Mr. Macmillan, Mr. Macleod, his disastrous choice as Colonial Secretary, and Mr. (now Sir Michael) Blundell, without whose indispensable aid the multi-racialism which was Britain's policy for Kenya could not have been suddenly and cruelly scrapped, to be substituted by African domination, headed by a man whom the courts had convicted and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment for leadership of the foul Mau Mau movement. Every newspaper in the United Kingdom has printed columns about Mr. Macmillan in the past week. Not one which we have seen has told its readers of that disreputable infliction on Kenya or of his betrayal of the Federation.

Political plotting is customarily conducted with discretion. In the past few days, however, the intensity of the general interest in the Profumo affair has driven Ministers to operate with almost indecent publicity, partly because they could not leave the field to newspaper speculation, partly because of the great danger that their silence might allow criticism to concentrate on two or three very vulnerable aspects of the case, and partly because they were consequently eager to suggest numerous targets in order to weaken the attack. What was apparently overlooked was that these manoeuvres would leave upon the man in the street — but, surprisingly, not upon London or leading provincial newspapers, or any of the many M.Ps. who have been free with their comment — the damaging impression that the Tory leaders were primarily concerned with the survival of the Prime Minister, if only

temporarily, secondly with shielding the party, and only as a subsidiary matter with the general national interest. Politics is undeniably about power, but there could scarcely have been a clearer or more cynical exhibition of the fact that the struggle was basically a determination of the Prime Minister to remain in office. Such pressures had been exerted that party optimists confidently predicted before the debate that fewer than ten Conservatives would abstain on the vote of confidence. The worst estimate, believed by few people, was that perhaps twenty Members might do so. In fact, the abstentionists numbered twice as many as the pessimists had expected, the Government majority being down to sixty-nine, whereas it is normally ninety-seven. Despite prodigious efforts by the whips, who had interviewed all Tory M.Ps. who could not be counted upon to enter the Government lobby automatically, twenty-eight of them deliberately abstained from voting; and the number would have been substantially higher but for a last-minute understanding that back-bench support for the Prime Minister on that day's motion was not to be interpreted as general endorsement of his conduct of affairs, and would not be used to prevent discussion of the need for a new leader. If Mr. Macmillan does not resign quickly the demand for changes at the top may explode beneath him.

* * *

Before Parliament re-assembled many speakers and writers sought to divert attention from the real issue by asserting that the now disgraced Secretary of State for War

The Tory Rot Began in Africa.

had been the only Minister in modern times who had lied brazenly to the House of Commons.

Would that that were so! Any self-righteous Socialist who now impugns Conservative trustworthiness might do penance by studying the debates on the Tanganyika groundnut scheme, during which the House was grossly misled by some of his party's leaders. The worst of their prevarications were exposed at the time in these columns—and nowhere else. If there be any Conservative still naïve enough to contend that Parliament may rely implicitly on the good faith of his leaders, let him go through the records about Kenya or Northern Rhodesia during the Macmillan-Macleod era, study the White Paper recently published by the Federal Government, and re-read the speeches in which the Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland detailed some of the acts of duplicity and deception by the

present United Kingdom Government (speeches, incidentally, not fully reported anywhere in Britain except in EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA). He should recall, moreover, that Lord Salisbury, one of the most trusted of Tories, summarized the Macmillan-Macleod policy in Central Africa as "unscrupulous". It was for such reasons as these that last week's leading article declared that the rot which has now frightened the hitherto supine Tory back-benchers began in Africa.

* * *

Desperate endeavours have been made by some Parliamentarians and some newspapers to propagate the idea that the private life of any man, even if disreputable, is his

Political and City Standards.

own affair and ought not to influence judgment of his public activities. The good sense of the overwhelming mass of the people has scorned such sophistry, for ordinary men and women recognize that honour is not divisible or relative, and is not to be donned and doffed like a garment. They know that a man's private conduct must affect his judgment and actions as a citizen. As Sir Cyril Black has said, it is better to be governed by good men than clever men; but better still, of course, to be governed by men who are good, able, and devoted. Nobody can deny that respect for Parliament has fallen greatly in recent years, and that large numbers of people have become convinced that many of its Members act politically in ways which would be intolerable in business or social circles. Would anyone suggest that the standards of politics nowadays are comparable, for instance, with those of the City of London? There a man's standing and survival depend upon his reliability. His word must be his bond. If City standards, which are honoured throughout the world, characterized British politics, the state and future of the country would be miraculously changed. Could there be a more honourable objective for the next Prime Minister than to seek and serve such a miracle?

** * *

CORRESPONDENCE between the United Kingdom and Southern Rhodesian Governments concerning the claim of the latter for independence and the wish of the former that that subject should not be discussed until after a conference has considered dissolution of the Federation was published too late on Tuesday for quotation in this issue. The

White Paper, which will be reproduced textually next week, contains the letters exchanged between Mr. Winston Field, whose firmness on major matters has been expressed in conciliatory terms, and Mr. Butler. The upshot is that Southern Rhodesia's independence is to be discussed next Wednesday and Thursday at the Victoria Falls, where a Federal dissolution conference will open on the Friday. This two-day meeting will be crucial in regard to Southern Rhodesia and the Federation, for Mr. Field has said quite candidly that if terms are not agreed "our attendance at the conference would serve no

useful purpose". Within a week, therefore, H.M. Government must either consent to Southern Rhodesia's independence on conditions acceptable to the Government of that Colony or know that the Prime Ministers of the Federation and of Southern Rhodesia will absent themselves from a conference which would consequently be abortive. If Mr. Butler does come to terms with Mr. Field, however, the Africans of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland may boycott the conference. That dilemma is one of the fruits of Mac-Butlerism, not the fault of the Southern Rhodesian Government.

Notes By The Way

Insecure Security

SECURITY IN AFRICA has been treated with astonishing nonchalance by the Macmillan Government, Parliament and the British Press. In the last few days, however, there has been a sharp and sudden demonstration of the folly of a policy leading to the premature abandonment of a military base in Kenya on which millions of pounds of British money have just been spent, and the still greater folly of bringing Southern Rhodesia, for three-quarters of a century an intensely loyal Colony, to the point at which it may be thrust out of the Commonwealth at the behest of African and Asian members, most of which cannot manage or finance their own administrative or business affairs. When trouble, partly political and partly created by trade unions, last week reached the point of explosion in Swaziland, the United Kingdom Government was faced with the need to send troops quickly. It is ironic that, because speed was necessary, they had to be drawn from Kenya and flown south *via* Southern Rhodesia, ground facilities being provided by that Federal Government upon which Macmillanism has pronounced sentence of death. Scoffers — of whom there will have been many thousands in East, Central and South Africa — will also have noted that permission to overfly South African territory for this Commonwealth military exercise had to be obtained from that ex-Commonwealth country, and that while Rhodesian Air Force planes flew the troops southwards from Salisbury.

Politically Motivated Crimes

MUCH INTEREST has been aroused by the recent paragraph which contrasted the extent of what the police call "politically motivated crime" in Southern Rhodesia with the far heavier incidence of such crimes in Northern Rhodesia. Now I have some further equally striking statistics, which cover the period from December 15 to May 20. In those 23 weeks there were in Southern Rhodesia 31 cases of intimidation and threatening violence, 28 of arson, attempted arson or petrol bombing, nine of malicious injury to property, seven of stoning, three of causing road blocks, one of assault on the public or the police, and one of riotous affrays. I cannot give exactly comparable figures for Northern Rhodesia, but the total was little short of 900, or, say, 11 times as high as in Southern

Rhodesia, which is absurdly alleged by some politicians and journalists to be suffering an "Algeria-type situation". I do know that there were well over 300 cases of stoning, more than 250 of assault on the police and public, at least 150 of intimidation and threatening violence, and upwards of 50 of arson in various forms. It will thus be seen that Northern Rhodesia, which has been rushed into self-government and is soon to be made independent, is a very far from peaceable country. In no daily paper in Britain, however, are such facts recorded. It is therefore not surprising that even normally well-informed members of the public find it difficult to believe that conditions north of the Zambezi are so very much worse than in Southern Rhodesia.

Anent Central Africa

IT IS GOOD NEWS that the Special Committee anent Central Africa created in 1958 by the Church of Scotland is to be dissolved, for its bias has been so obvious that it has been repeatedly denounced in the General Assembly, as well as in the Press, notably by Sir Gilbert Rennie, himself an elder of the Church. The present convener of the committee, Mr. Robert Mackie, and the Rev. Kenneth MacKenzie (who has been a bitter critic of the Federation since he returned from Central Africa some years ago) consider that their mandate should lapse in consequence of the Macmillan Government's decision to dissolve the Federation. The General Assembly resolved recently to urge H.M. Government to declare that independence can be granted to Southern Rhodesia only when that country has "representative government based on the consent of the majority of the inhabitants of all races". I can think of no church body which has been so active in its opposition to the Federation, and from time to time so inaccurate in its statements, as this Special Committee anent Central Africa.

Shock for Sisal Shareholders

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA predicted years ago that African Governments, while declaring their anxiety to attract external capital, would cut progressively into the profit margins of businesses established by investors overseas. The latest instance — and there are assuredly more to come in East and Central Africa — is provided by Tanganyika's new budget, which sharply increases the export tax on sisal. The exact method of calculation is still not known, but it appears that estates will have to pay at least another £6 or £7 per ton, or, say,

£12 per ton averaged over the various grades. The Government expects to take another £24m. from the industry by imposing a sliding-scale export tax starting at 5% when the f.o.b. price and certain permissible deductions exceed £75, and rising to 20% at £125. Even the directors of companies fearing adverse amendment of the old rate had probably not thought that their enterprise would be so heavily penalized, and shareholders in general can certainly not have foreseen so severe a blow. Not surprisingly, as soon as the news became known the shares of even the best sisal growing companies fell heavily on the London Stock Exchange.

Public Floggings

WHEN THE BILL imposing minimum sentences of two years' imprisonment and corporal punishment for a series of offences, including corruption and theft of public money, was debated last week in the Tanganyika National Assembly, several members wanted the minimum sentences to be raised to five years and the floggings to be in public. One wanted corporal punishment to be administered to women thieves as well as men; and one speaker proposed reversion to the old custom in some tribes of cutting off the hands of thieves. What says the Movement for Colonial Freedom? Probably nothing.

Governor's Inaugural Address to Kenya's National Assembly*

Emphasis on the Need for Criticism, Good Humour, and Real Liberty

I AM PROUD to be here at the opening of Kenya's National Assembly, and very happy to be in Kenya when history is being made on a grand scale. Events here are part of a world-wide movement of emancipation in which multitudes of once dependent peoples are gaining their national independence.

For the last 17 years I have been a tiny participant in that colossal process, first in Asia and now in Africa. Some people think I am an Afro-Asian with a lot of Scots blood in me. But I am in fact a British representative helping to fulfil the will of the sagacious British people that their old Colonial Empire shall be transformed into a fraternal Commonwealth of free nations.

I have watched that transformation being successfully achieved in India, Malaya, and other Asian lands. Equally important is the peaceful revolution now occurring in Kenya. Eleven days ago the Constitution for internal self-government came into being, and we are now all co-operating together for the attainment at the earliest practicable date of full independence.

Lingering Fears, Soaring Hopes

As we know from a meeting of the heads of the Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda Governments in Nairobi last week, that event will in its turn lead to a further constitutional development which should have an inspiring influence not only in East Africa but in other parts of Africa too.

A crucial incident in that series of advances is this opening of self-governing Kenya's National Assembly. You are the elected representatives of the new-born Kenya nation. It is fitting to remark this afternoon on the orderly, democratic, and responsible way in which millions of voters conducted themselves throughout your general elections. They behaved with similar law-abiding good humour during the recent joyful celebrations of self-government. Their peaceableness has confounded some of the prophets of gloom; and it is a promising omen for the future.

The mood of almost universal mutual goodwill which animated the population throughout recent events was induced in them by the provisions of the new written Constitution, the outcome of many months of difficult negotiations in which the leaders of K.A.N.U. and K.A.D.U. took part.

Their discussions reflected the lingering fears as well as the soaring hopes of the many different tribal and racial peoples who are joined together in the Kenya nation. In the course of the negotiations both parties made concessions and compromises in a sincere attempt to allay those fears and strengthen those hopes. The result is not a simple Constitution; it is rather complex, but it is designed to fit Kenya's particular needs. The fact that it has truly increased mutual confidence and the sense of unity amongst Kenya's people shows what an act of high statesmanship it was. We all congratulate the leaders of both the Government and the Opposition on their achievement.

* Mr. Malcolm MacDonald delivered this speech on Tuesday of last week when he opened Kenya's new National Assembly.

This National Assembly should become the central, supreme constitutional organ where the life of the nation is shaped. Here the Government of the day will declare its policies on a great variety of national matters, introduce legislation to implement those policies, and propose taxes to sustain them.

Criticism's Valuable Rôle

You will debate the Bills, and influence their terms, and pass them. It is right that the Government should command an effective majority, so that it can act with decision, confidence and authority; but it is also right that there shall be a robust Opposition subjecting the Government each day to criticism. If that criticism is made in a constructive spirit it can fulfil one of the most valuable functions of Parliament.

I was for many years first a Parliamentary Secretary and then a Cabinet Minister; and not only in the House of Commons, but also in all the other offices which I have filled, I have always learnt at least as much from my critics as from my friends. No doubt that was partly because I have never lacked plenty of critics!

Criticism by an Opposition in Parliament can perform four great services to the Government itself as well as to the nation: (1) it voices the opinions of significant minorities in the State who should be heeded; (2) it keeps a Government alert and prevents it from becoming complacent; (3) it points out mistakes that Ministers may be making, and so gives them a chance to correct those mistakes in good time; (4) when the criticism is itself misplaced and unfair, it gives the Government a fresh opportunity to explain its policies and remove misunderstandings and misrepresentations.

For all these reasons a democratic Government should welcome criticism. Indeed, the work of a Government and the work of an Opposition in a legislature are two halves of a comprehensive whole. But let us be realists: that view does not seem to be shared by some authorities in some new nations in Asia and Africa, just as it has been rejected by some authorities in some old nations in Europe and America. Democratic practices are not always in accordance with the indigenous traditions, customs and characters of a racial people.

Laughing The Way Through Crisis

Are they in accord with the character, capacities and aspirations of the people of Kenya? Some observers would say that the answer is 'No'. I cannot tell; I am a newcomer amongst you. My very pleasant and enlightening experiences in the recent Coalition Council of Ministers lead me to believe that the answer can be 'Yes', and that this National Assembly can be animated by a spirit which will make it a shining example of modern parliamentary government to the whole of Africa.

In that Council of Ministers there were both K.A.N.U. and K.A.D.U. members. Sometimes they disagreed. Occasionally there was a flaring row. But usually then that priceless gift of the African peoples, their glorious sense of humour, came to our rescue. We laughed our way through little crisis after little crisis.

Almost always the whole team of Ministers showed great good humour towards each other, and mutual tolerance and respect, and a readiness to make reasonable compromises. It was because they had a will whenever necessary to abandon narrow party prejudices and adopt a broad patriotic view.

which set the interests of the nation above the interests of faction, or party, or community, or tribe.

Many of the public statements made since the general election by leaders of both the Government and the Opposition show the same inclination to place national above party consideration; and that mood has been reflected in the peaceful, good-humoured, friendly behaviour of the rejoicing crowds in the streets and the countryside during the last two weeks.

You in this National Assembly can do much to confirm and strengthen those hopeful tendencies. By an exercise of healthy party criticism of each other, tempered by an awareness of sharing the same national aims because you are partners in the grand adventure of building a happy Kenya nation, you can lead your countrymen serenely through the critical years lying immediately ahead. You can allay suspicions, curb passions, weaken rivalries, and combine the tribes and communities which have divided Kenya in the past into the united nation of the present and the future. The slogan for that effort is "*Harambee*".

Only a fool would seek to minimize the difficulties which lie in your path, as they lie to a greater or lesser extent across the path of any Government, old or new, which strives in these times to raise the standard of living and well-being of its people. The difficulties in Kenya are too obvious to need reciting. But, given a co-operative effort, they can be steadily

and surely overcome, for this fruitful and lovely land can provide the basis for a comfortable and gracious life for its whole population.

One of the Government's and your duties will be to exploit further Kenya's natural resources: to preserve and develop its agriculture, expand the variety of its economy, encourage local and overseas investors, extend its home and external markets, cherish your game reserves and national parks, and in every other way stimulate the country's material development. The chief purpose of that is to provide the means to give employment, education, health and a good living standard to everyone.

But none of those possessions is worth a great deal without liberty—national liberty and individual liberty. Yet neither is liberty worth much without those other attributes. So let us keep them all in the right perspective with each other and strive to attain them all. With that ambition we now set forth gladly on the last stage of Kenya's journey to *Uhuru*.

Mr. Speaker of the Senate, Mr. Speaker of the House of Representatives, Mr. Prime Minister, and honourable Members of the National Assembly, I salute you! The eyes of the rest of Africa and of the whole world are upon you. All the friends of Kenya wish you well as you begin your historic task. Good fortune be with you; and may the blessings of God—universal God of all true religions—rest upon your labours.

Charter of the Organization of African Unity

Full Text of Charter Agreed in Addis Ababa

WE, THE HEADS OF AFRICAN STATES AND GOVERNMENTS assembled in the city of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia;

CONVINCED that it is the inalienable right of all people to control their own destiny;

CONSCIOUS of the fact that freedom, equality, justice and dignity are essential objectives for the achievement of the legitimate aspirations of the African peoples;

CONSCIOUS of our responsibility to harness the natural and human resources of our continent for the total advancement of our peoples in spheres of human endeavour;

INSPIRED by a common determination to promote understanding among our peoples and co-operation among our States in response to the aspirations of our peoples for brotherhood and solidarity, in a larger unity transcending ethnic and national differences;

CONVINCED that, in order to translate this determination into a dynamic force in the cause of human progress, conditions for peace and security must be established and maintained;

DETERMINED to safeguard and consolidate the hard-won independence as well as the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our States, and to fight against neo-colonialism in all its forms;

DEDICATED to the general progress of Africa;

PERSUADED that the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to the principles of which we reaffirm our adherence, provide a solid foundation for peaceful and positive co-operation among States;

DESIROUS that all African States should henceforth unite so that the welfare and well-being of their peoples can be assured;

RESOLVED to reinforce the links between our States by establishing and strengthening common institutions;

HAVE agreed to the present Charter.

ESTABLISHMENT

Article I.—(1) The High Contracting Parties do by the present Charter establish an Organization to be known as the Organization of African Unity. (2) The Organization shall include the Continental African States, Madagascar, and other islands surrounding Africa.

PURPOSES

Article II.—(1) The Organization shall have the following purposes: (a) to promote the unity and solidarity of the

African States; (b) to co-ordinate and intensify their co-operation and efforts to achieve a better life for the peoples of Africa (c) to defend their sovereignty, their territorial integrity and independence; (d) to eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa; and (e) to promote international co-operation, having due regard to the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

(2) To these ends the Member States shall co-ordinate and harmonize their general policies, especially in the following fields: (a) political and diplomatic co-operation; (b) economic co-operation, including transport and communications; (c) educational and cultural co-operation; (d) health, sanitation and nutritional co-operation; (e) scientific and technical co-operation; and (f) co-operation for defence and security.

PRINCIPLES

Article III.—The Member States, in pursuit of the purposes stated in Article II, solemnly affirm and declare their adherence to the following principles: (1) the sovereign equality of all Member States; (2) non-interference in the internal affairs of States; (3) respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each State and for its inalienable right to independent existence; (4) peaceful settlement of disputes by negotiation, conciliation or arbitration; (5) unreserved condemnation, in all its forms, of political assassination as well as of subversive activities on the part of neighbouring States or any other State; (6) absolute dedication to the total emancipation of the African territories which are still dependent; (7) affirmation of a policy of non-alignment with regard to all blocs.

MEMBERSHIP

Article IV.—Each independent sovereign African State shall be entitled to become a member of the Organization.

RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF MEMBER STATES

Article V.—All Member States shall enjoy equal rights and have equal duties.

Article VI.—The Member States pledge themselves to observe scrupulously the principles enumerated in Article III of the present Charter.

INSTITUTIONS

Article VII.—The Organization shall accomplish its purposes through the following principal institutions: (1) the Assembly of Heads of State and Government; (2) the Council of Ministers; (3) the General Secretariat; (4) the Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration.

THE ASSEMBLY OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT

Article VIII.—The Assembly of Heads of State and Government shall be the supreme organ of the Organization. It shall, subject to the provisions of this Charter, discuss matters of common concern to Africa with a view to co-ordinating and harmonizing the general policy of the Organization. It may in addition review the structure, functions and acts of all the organs and any specialized agencies which may be created in accordance with the present Charter.

(Concluded on page 904)

PERSONALIA

MR. JOHN RIDDOCH has arrived from Kenya.

MR. G. C. SCHLUTER is re-visiting East Africa.

MR. P. H. BROOKE, a tea planter in Nyasaland, has arrived in London.

LORD and LADY CLAUD HAMILTON have arrived in London from Kenya.

MR. A. S. P. NEISH and MR. J. H. S. TRANTER are revisiting Tanganyika.

MR. and MRS. ROY WALLACE have left Kenya to live in Connecticut, U.S.A.

MR. S. F. MANN, Director of Education in Zanzibar, is on leave in England.

VISCOUNT MAUGHAM is a passenger for Mombasa in the S.S. KENYA CASTLE.

MR. P. J. M. HANCOCK is now senior social welfare organizer in Northern Rhodesia.

MR. E. W. ORYEMA has been appointed Deputy Inspector-General of Police in Uganda.

MR. ROLF GARDINER will leave at the end of the month for another visit to Nyasaland.

SIR DIARMAID CONROY, Chief Justice in Northern Rhodesia, is in this country on leave.

MR. P. T. PRESTON has been promoted Assistant Director of Veterinary Services in Kenya.

THE VEN. G. C. BRIGGS has returned to the Masasi Diocese, Tanganyika, from leave in England.

MR. RHYS MEIER, editor of the *Sunday Mail*, is in London on holiday from Southern Rhodesia.

MR. ERIC CECIL, chairman of the committee of the East African Safari, has been in London for a few days.

MR. C. J. HOLDERNESS is on his way back to Southern Rhodesia by sea, travelling by the East Coast route.

MR. CLIFFORD DUPONT, Southern Rhodesia's Minister of Justice, flew back to Salisbury from London last week.

LORD TWEEDSMUIR has been re-elected chairman of the Canadian Section of the London Chamber of Commerce.

MR. H. SASSON is now Conservator of Antiquities in the Tanganyika Ministry of National Culture and Youth.

The REV. S. BOOTH-CLIMBORN, editor of the Kenya Christian Council's newspaper *Rock*, is on leave in this country.

MR. M. W. J. BULL, chairman of a group with large Rhodesian interests, will sail today in the *PROGRESSORS CASTLE*.

MR. J. S. R. COLE, Q.C., is on leave in Ireland from the Sudan. He was at one time Attorney-General in Tanganyika.

THE EARL OF INCHCAPE has resigned from the boards of the Upper Assam Tea Co., Ltd., and Selmah Tea Co., Ltd.

MR. J. G. SCOTT, hitherto an alternate director, is now a full member of the board of Hunting Surveys (Rhodesia), (Pvt.), Ltd.

LORD and LADY ALPERT and their family are on their way back from Rhodesia in the S.S. *UGANDA*. They are due in London on July 9.

MR. PAUL G. HUFFMAN, managing director of the U.N. Special Fund, has been elected president of the Society for International Development.

LADY SHIRABANI KARIMANI, who is now in London, is the wife of Sir YAVANZI KARIMANI, a director of Karimjee Jivanjee & Co., Ltd., Zanzibar.

PARLIAMENTARY TALKING of Katanga is receiving medical treatment in Paris, but due to immigration disqualifications has been told he will have to leave soon.

MR. PIERRE NIZAMUNZWE, Deputy Premier and Finance Minister in the Burundi Government which recently resigned, has formed a new Government.

COLONEL J. C. ALEXANDER, private secretary to the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR, and previously to his father, and MRS. ALEXANDER have arrived in England on retirement.

MR. WAZIRI JUMA has been appointed Area Commissioner for Dodoma, and MR. A. S. MTAKI, M.P., is now Regional Commissioner for the Ruvuma Region of Tanganyika.

SIR GLYN JONES, Governor of Nyasaland, who was taken to hospital in Blantyre last week after a heart attack, is not expected to be able to resume his duties for several weeks.

SIR GEOFFREY CROWTHER, who has visited Central and East Africa, is to become chairman of the *Economist*. He edited the journal for 18 years and has since been vice-chairman.

MR. J. REDMAN, a Southern Rhodesian, has won the 250 c.c. lightweight T.T. race in the Isle of Man on a Japanese motorcycle. He was second in the race last year and third in 1961.

LORD VERULAM, chairman of the London Chamber of Commerce, has been appointed one of its members on the executive council of the Association of British Chambers of Commerce.

MR. ANWAR NAAHASHIBI, of Jordan, has replaced MR. ELIUD MATHU, of Kenya, as the U.N.'s chief representative in Katanga, Mr. Mathu having been posted to Addis Ababa by U.N.O.

MR. HUGH BEGG has been appointed chief executive for overseas operations in the Thomson Organization, Ltd., which has large newspaper and television interests in East and Central Africa.

MR. HUGO MONEY-COUTTS, son and heir of LORD LATYMER, chairman of the Ottoman Bank, has resigned his bank and insurance directorships in London to sail round the world in a 20-ton ketch.

MR. J. WATTS, chairman of the United Transport Co., Ltd., and MRS. WATTS, and MR. W. T. JAMES, a director of that company in the Federation, arrived in London last week in the S.S. KENYA.

Among recent arrivals in London from Kenya are MR. V. G. MATTHEWS & MRS. MATTHEWS, MR. & MRS. K. M. COWLEY, MR. & MRS. A. E. KEATINGE, and MR. & MRS. R. L. McLELLAN-SIM.

LORD HOWICK, chairman of the Commonwealth Development Corporation, left London on Friday to visit Bechuanaland, Swaziland, the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland. He will be away five or six weeks.

MR. K. G. Y. BROWN, chairman of Caynor, Irvine (Central Africa) (Pvt.), Ltd., and a director of the Imperial Tobacco Co. of Great Britain and Ireland, Ltd., will leave England today in the *PROGRESSORS CASTLE*.

MR. J. BALL, for the past four years honorary secretary of the Kenya Cricket Association, has left the Colony. His successor is Mr. JAMES SMITH, secretary of the cricket section of the Asian Sports Association.

MISS A. A. E. M. LAUVIEN, for the past 10 years headmistress of the girls' secondary school in Hemel Hempstead, Hertfordshire, has been appointed principal of the Kenya High School for Girls, Nairobi.

When FRANCIS SMITH TATE of Guinea visited Arusha he was initiated into the Masai tribe and made an elder. At the Williamson diamond mine at Mombasa Mrs. TATE was presented with a six-carat diamond.

MR. D. I. CHIL, who will go to Accra in July as British Deputy High Commissioner to Ghana, was for more than three years private secretary to Louis Hoare while he was Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations.

MR. F. JACQUES MANSOUR, who has been elected vice-president of the African American Institute and director of its Washington office, established the A.A.I. office in Dar es Salaam in 1961. Until his recent appointment he was in charge of the Institute's programmes in East, Central, and Southern Africa.

MR. W. G. WATSON, Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Trade and Industry, is on leave from Nyasaland and so is MR. I. C. H. FREEMAN, Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Education.

MR. W. W. TEMPLE, who has been elected to the board of Caltex Oil (Kenya), Ltd., has served the group in East Africa for the past 12 years. He previously held appointments with it in Bahrein, the U.S.A., and Japan.

SIR EDGAR WHITEHEAD, Leader of the Opposition in Southern Rhodesia, said in a recent broadcast that, although he would have negotiated for independence at this time, he would not have been "in such a frantic hurry".

No single tribe in Uganda could hope to play an effective political rôle in East Africa. MR. A. MILTON OBOTE, the Prime Minister, told a U.P.C. youth rally in Mbale. National consciousness had to replace the tribalism of the past.

MR. D. A. SCOTT is acting as United Kingdom High Commissioner in the Federation until the arrival in Salisbury in August of MR. J. B. JOHNSTON, who reached London a few days ago on relinquishing the post of High Commissioner in Sierra Leone.

MR. A. B. ADIMOLA, H. ST. L. GRENFELL, and MR. J. K. THOMPSON are proposed by the council of the Royal Commonwealth Society for election to vacancies on the council caused by the retirement of COUNTESS DE LA WARR, MR. W. H. BEETON, and MR. P. BROADBENT.

A City sensation was caused last week by the resignation of four directors from the board of Guthrie Estate Agency, Ltd., "in view of acute disagreement with the administration of SIR JOHN HAY, chairman and managing director". The company has a subsidiary in Rhodesia.

DAVID CULLINAN, a member of the Southern African and Rhodesian schoolboy cricket team which has just arrived in England, is the 17-year-old great-grandson of the SIR THOMAS CULLINAN who presented KING EDWARD VII with the largest diamond ever found, one of 3,106 carats.

MR. WILLIE CHOKANI, Nyasaland Labour Minister, has stated that the formation of a Malawi Service Volunteers Labour Force is being prepared in order to relieve unemployment and "to provide useful work for others who are anxious to assist in the economic development of the country".

Among visitors to London from Northern Rhodesia are MRS. J. GRAY, from Mongu; MR. G. W. BRYAN, MR. D. H. KIDD, MR. G. E. HARGREAVES, and MR. & MRS. J. S. THOMASON, from Ndola; and MR. & MRS. G. R. BURDEN, MR. LAYTON GIBBS, MR. R. D. PUYEY, and MR. & MRS. WAGNER from Lusaka.

DR. ASHLEY PALLEY, the only Independent M.P. in Southern Rhodesia, has said that Northern Rhodesia must become the hub of British Central Africa because of the "tremendous prosperity" that will be engendered there by the policies of the U.N.I.P. president, MR. KENNETH KALINJA, "who will become one of the great figures of Africa".

When MR. S. T. NTRAO, Tanganyika's High Commissioner in London, was the guest of honour at a parents' week-end of Mowson College, Shropshire, he expressed confidence that a bridge could be built between different races if there were a general desire to know and be known, to judge persons on merit not on race, and to spread understanding and goodwill.

Mrs. HARRY NEUMANN, Minister for African Education in Northern Rhodesia, has told some senior education officers in Lusaka that totally inadequate sums were being provided for education in the country's development plan and that enrolment targets are not high enough to meet requirements. Sympathy had been offered during his recent visit to Europe to seek money, "but I need hard cash, not sympathy".

PRINCESS ELIZABETH BAGAAYA, the 26-year-old daughter of the OMUKAMA OF TORO, who is now reading for her Bar finals in London, has told a correspondent of the *Daily Express*: "I do not think that I can remain in England at the Bar, and it would be impossible to practise at home in Uganda, for I am a king's daughter. I do not think it would be appreciated if I were to practise".

MR. C. A. COOPER has been elected president, and COLONEL F. H. V. KEIGHLEY and MR. D. J. STRINGER vice-presidents of the Association for the Promotion of Industry in East Africa. The other members of the executive committee are COLONEL V. C. THOMPSON and Messrs. S. D. GOVE, E. BAUMANN, J. S. BYNG-HALL, J. H. COLLIER-WRIGHT, I. S. EDNIE, D. O. OCHIENG, J. C. THETFORD, and H. TRAVIS.

MR. JOSEPH KARUGA KOINANGE, third son of the late SENIOR CHIEF KOINANGE of Kenya, and brother of MR. PETER KOINANGE, Minister of State for Pan-African Affairs in the Colony, and MISS GRACE NJERI GITHEGI, a student nurse in London, were married at St. Giles's Church, Camberwell, on Saturday. The bridegroom is a teacher at a secondary school in London. MR. CHARLES NJONJO, of the staff of the Attorney-General in Kenya, was best man.

MR. B. G. SMALLMAN, who has been appointed British Deputy High Commissioner in Sierra Leone, joined the Colonial Service in 1947, was in 1951-52 assistant private secretary to the then Secretary of State, MR. OLIVER LYTTTELTON (now VISCOUNT CHANDOS), and during the 1956-57 and 1958 sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations was attached to the United Kingdom Delegation. He transferred to the Commonwealth Service in 1961 and has since worked in the United Nations Department of the C.R.O.

MR. S. H. CHILESHE, the first African to be elected a director of Ridgeway Hotels, Ltd., Lusaka, entered the Legislative Council in 1954 as one of four representatives of the African Representative Council, was a member of the delegations to constitutional conferences in London in 1948 and 1958, and some months ago joined Rhodesian Selection Trust as personal assistant to MR. JACK THOMSON, resident director in Northern Rhodesia. MR. CHILESHE was at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London from 1945 to 1947, and was then for three years on the staff of the Publications Bureau of the Northern Rhodesian Government and a part-time teacher at Munal Secondary School and Chalimbana Training College.

Joint East and Central African Board

LORD COLYTON has been re-elected chairman of the Joint East and Central African Board, which has four vice-chairmen, Messrs. W. M. Robson, P. H. B. Wall, M.P., J. P. McDonagh, and D. C. Brook. The other members of the council are:

Sir Keith Acutt, Mr. C. D. F. Allan, Sir Robert Armitage, Mr. F. J. Bellenger, M.P., Mr. F. M. Bennett, M.P., Sir Handley Bird, Mr. R. J. Bloxam, Mr. D. A. J. Buxton, Mr. R. S. Bramhall, the Hon. R. Campbell, Sir Duncan Cumming, Earl de la Warr, Messrs. J. W. Dixon, J. H. Gaunt, H. St. L. Grenfell, W. J. Gunther, M. E. S. Higgin, C. R. Hobson, M. A. Hooker, L. C. Hunting.

The Earl of Inchcape, Mr. R. A. M. Knox, Mr. J. H. Lascelles, the Hon. L. Leathers, Messrs. B. F. Macdonald, L. F. Manton, S. S. Murray, Donald Parker, F. J. Pedler, B. E. Petitpierre, A. H. Pike, Sir Charles Ponsonby, the Hon. P. F. Remnant, Messrs. H. D. Roberts, R. S. Russell, M.P., H. E. P. Spearing, Sir Edmund Teale, Mr. F. Tomne, M.P., and Mr. J. H. S. Tranter.

An advisory panel consists of Major-General W. A. Dimoline, Professor S. H. Frankel, Lord Hailey, Sir John Hall, Sir Harold Macmichael, Professor W. M. Macmillan, Mr. Philip Mason, and Sir Gilbert Rennie.

Obituaries

Sir David Campbell, M.P.

Mr. Gerald Sayers's Tribute

THE RT. HON. SIR DAVID CAMPBELL, K.B.E., C.M.G., Ulster Unionist M.P. for Belfast South since 1952, died in hospital in Reading last week at the age of 72.

He was educated at Foyle College, Londonderry, and Edinburgh University, and went to Tanganyika in 1919 as a cadet in the Colonial Service. He became Assistant Chief Secretary in 1933, and three years later was transferred to Uganda as Deputy Chief Secretary. During the war he went to Gibraltar as Colonial Secretary, and very shortly afterwards to Malta, of which he was Lieut.-Governor from 1943 to 1952. He then retired and was elected to the House of Commons, where he was leader of the Ulster Unionist Group.

Mr. Gerald Sayers, an old friend, writes:—

"Sir David Campbell gave a lifetime of service to the Commonwealth as a member of the Colonial Service—from 1919 to 1942 in Tanganyika and Uganda, and from 1942 to 1952 as Lieut.-Governor of Malta. Then in 1952, at an age when most men might expect to rest on their laurels, he became a Member of Parliament, taking a keen interest in the affairs of Africa and Malta. He was for some years chairman of the Conservative Party's Mediterranean Committee.

"Davie" was one of the original members of the Tanganyika Secretariat. He arrived when the Territory was recovering from years of war. The staff was inexperienced: money was short: amenities were few. But it was fun making bricks without straw and using one's imagination instead of relying on precedents.

Pillar of Strength

"To all he served Davie was a pillar of strength. What he promised to do he did. He threw himself wholeheartedly into work or play; and he was a good all-round sportsman. Modest to a fault, he never claimed to be brilliant, but he had a fund of knowledge of human nature and of common sense, a temperament that looked on the bright side, and a great sense of humour. These gifts made him a wise and valued counsellor. Meanness, dishonesty, and arrogance he detested, and where he scented injustice he would fight the victim's battle relentlessly.

"He was straight as a die; once when discussing promotion prospects I told him that top civil servants had to acquire a political sense and that he was too honest to be a politician! Little did I think that he was to serve in one of the warmest of political climates—Malta—and finally to end up at Westminster!

"In the House of Commons, so quick to detect the second-rate and the insincere, Davie's sterling qualities were recognized by members of all parties. He won not only respect but affection. The Privy Councillorship which he received in the New Year's Honours was, indeed, well deserved."

SIR ROBERT HUDSON, K.C.M.G., M.C., Q.C., a former Chief Justice of Southern Rhodesia, has died at the age of 78. A memoir will appear next week.

MR. HERMAN JUSTUS BRAUNHOLTZ, C.B.E., who has died at the age of 74, was keeper of the ethnographical department of the British Museum from 1945 to 1953. He had visited East and South Africa in 1926, and was largely responsible for the Museum's fine collection of African stone age material. He was honorary editor of the journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute from 1926 to 1953, and its president in 1937, 1938, 1942 and 1943.

Uganda Minister's Reply to Criticism

Mr. Nekyon Uprais Mr. McCully Hunter

THE EXPULSION from Uganda at 24 hours' notice of Mr. E. McCully Hunter, a resident of 10 years' standing, and economic adviser to the Government of the Kingdom of Buganda, was reported in last week's issue.

We have now received a Uganda Government statement saying:—

"The Minister of Information, Broadcasting and Tourism, Mr. A. A. Nekyon, has replied to criticism aimed by a Mr. E. McCully Hunter of the Prime Minister, Mr. Obote, for suggesting that there is going to be war in Africa and also for calling on countries to break off diplomatic relations with Britain if Britain granted Southern Rhodesia independence.

"Mr. Nekyon said: 'The Government of Uganda would like Mr. McCully Hunter to know that Uganda is not going to be dictated to by a stray businessman who came here for the sake of money and not in the interests of the country. Mr. Obote has the mandate of the people of Uganda to speak on their behalf. Mr. Hunter may have the mandate to speak on behalf of Britain, but since we attained our independence we have realized that we are going to be really independent of any other country, including the United Kingdom.

"It is within our right to declare that all African States should prepare for a war against any country which is torturing our people because of their colour; and if Mr. Hunter and his colleagues in Britain who wrote the articles which he quoted do not agree with this, they have either to live in Britain and leave us alone or take up arms in defence of the country against which we would like to wage a war, such as Southern Rhodesia.

"Who Would Be Blamed?"

"Mr. Hunter said that such a statement by the Prime Minister was interfering with efforts their people were making to attract foreign capital to Uganda. Since when did Mr. Hunter become responsible for attracting foreign capital to Uganda? Who appointed him to undertake that responsibility? If foreign capital does not come to Uganda, who will be blamed by the people, himself or Mr. Obote?

"We are not prepared to sell the sovereignty of the African States, the dignity of our people who are being oppressed in certain quarters, for the sake of money for development, whether it is to be brought here in the form of loans to the Government or in the form of foreign capital for private enterprise.

"We would like everybody concerned to know that by asking for our independence we knew that we wanted to undertake all our troubles independently, and it is surprising to see that some Britishers still think that we want them to undertake our troubles.

"Mr. Hunter is hereby strongly advised not to bother with the development of Uganda, so that his efforts may not be hindered. I wish he could leave immediately so that we may see whether Uganda will collapse without him."

Three days later Mr. Nekyon, in the capacity of Acting Minister of Internal Affairs, signed a deportation order.

German Arms for Africa

THE WEST GERMAN GOVERNMENT stated last week that it has been providing military aid to seven African countries; but only five were named, Sudan, Somali Republic, Madagascar, Nigeria, and Guinea. Aid was stated to have been granted in each case after approaches from the African Government concerned, and in no instance on German initiative. The Sudan is receiving armoured vehicles, other equipment, and help in developing a radio network. German newspapers have criticized the Government's action as risking involvement in conflicts between African countries.

Expelled from Uganda

AN ITALIAN OIL EXPERT, Signor Alberto Messeca, was last Friday ordered to leave Uganda within 24 hours. He had been negotiating on behalf of Ray Ryan, Ltd., a United States company, with the Government of Buganda in regard to investigation of oil seepages in that kingdom. Signor Messeca was expelled on the ground that oil rights over the whole country, including Buganda, are the concern of the Central Government of Uganda.

Mr. Bomani's Mobilization Budget

Economic Recovery Almost Complete

GRROSS PROJECTED EXPENDITURE in Tanganyika during the coming year at £47m. will include the largest development budget—of £12,667,679—yet presented, the Minister of Finance, Mr. Paul Bomani, told the National Assembly last week.

The development estimates represent schemes for which the finance can be considered secured. Many other schemes, at various stages of planning, have received token provision, totalling a further £34m.

Mr. Bomani said that the 1963-64 budget was presented against a background of solid economic achievement, of increasing national prosperity, and of brightening expectations. Economic recovery from the restraints and setbacks of 1961 was almost complete and production was rising rapidly.

Substantial Increases

"I do not wish to imply that there is any time for self-satisfaction or relaxation. The common enemies of ignorance, poverty, and disease remain with us, and renewed and united effort is needed now more than ever before to overcome them. The theme of my speech is a blend of sacrifice and preparation, setting our national machinery in order and harnessing all our efforts, financial, physical and moral, to the important tasks of building the free nation of Tanganyika".

Potential investors would, he hoped, note the substantial increases, which compared favourably with those of any country in Africa, and emphasized that in Tanganyika, within the East African Common Market, there was not only rising productivity and rapidly increasing purchasing power but also direct access to important markets in Kenya and Uganda.

With expenditure at £26,252,000 and revenue at £24,904,000, the deficit of £1,384,000 would be met by the revenue proposals announced on April 16, including duty increases on textiles, clothing and motor vehicles, and a small tax payable when second-hand vehicles changed hands. Those measures should yield additional gross revenue of £500,000 and £280,000 respectively.

Changes in the customs tariff to afford greater protection to local industry would yield £140,000. A new Income and Corporation Tax measure would increase the revenue in 1963-64 by £330,000; the re-imposition of estate duty should yield £30,000; and an entertainments tax would bring in £50,000. Amendments to the Pools Ordinance would make it clear beyond doubt that the fixed odds betting system was liable to tax. Estimated yield from all those measures was £1,280,000.

Sisal Export Tax

New rates of export tax on sisal, after allowing for export tax at current rates, would produce approximately £24m. "Some of this revenue must be regarded as a payment in advance of income tax and corporation tax due in 1964-65, but the greater part will become available for financing an expansion of our development programme".

Servicing of the public debt would require £2,145,000, an increase of £300,000, arising from repayments being made for the first time for foreign aid. The main increase of £216,000 in the annual civil service pension bill was attributable to the increasing number of officers who had retired in the last few years and the increased pensions payable on the enhanced retiring salaries. Those two items represented nearly 10% of the gross budget.

Provision for the Judiciary had nearly doubled at £229,000, and most of the remaining Ministries also showed an increased expenditure which was inevitable in a rapidly developing country, particularly education.

During 1962 the gross domestic product of Tanganyika rose to £203m. There would be an increase in the gross domestic product in 1963 of approximately £18.1m. of which an imputed £2.4m. would be in the subsistence economy and £15.7m. in the monetary economy. The volume of the country's external trade rose to £93.2m. (£90.3m.) and net imports from overseas rose slightly to £39.8m.

There was evidence of growing business confidence in the economic future of Tanganyika. The gross capital inflow had more than doubled in 1962, reaching a level of some

£2.5m., against a net capital outflow on private account of roughly £1.7m., a very much smaller outflow than in 1960 and 1961. In the first quarter of 1963 there had been a not unsubstantial net inflow.

Two of the most significant individual items of capital formation were an order for new aircraft placed by the East African Airways of which £600,000 was imputed to investment in the national accounts of Tanganyika, and the large development expenditure by East African Railways and Harbours on the construction of the new link line from Ruvu to Mnyusi and on the re-laying of two major portions of the Tanga and Mwanza lines.

In the public utilities sector the principal capital expenditure project was the Hale River hydro-electric scheme, in which £2m. were invested in 1962.

Nation-Building

Mr. Bomani added that no discussion of capital formation in Tanganyika would be complete without reference to the very real voluntary investment of labour, time, skill and energy which had been devoted to nation-building projects. More than 11,000 miles of road had been constructed, 368 schools built, 267 community centres established, and work undertaken on no fewer than 650 communal farms and on some 400 irrigation furrows. The monetary value of those and other nation-building projects carried out last year had been estimated at £1m.

Net manufacturing output rose 11% from the 1961 level of £7.6m. to the 1962 total of about £8.5m. A slight increase in employment had reversed the downward trend of the past few years.

The rapid rise in the world market price of sisal in the latter half of the year had so stimulated production that total output for the year reached a record of 214,000 tons. The 1963 output was expected to be 220,000 tons.

Cotton production was a record at 210,000 bales, 18% above the previous peak. The 1963 crop forecast was slightly in excess of 260,000 bales, a 26% increase over 1962. There was also a record forecast for cotton seed of 77,000 tons.

The International Coffee Agreement had checked the downward drift in world prices, while the recovery in coffee production last year had brought Tanganyika's output generally into line with its quota under the agreement. The 1963 crop was estimated at 28,000 tons (26,900 tons in 1962).

Large increases over previous best levels were also achieved for pyrethrum and sugar. Tea suffered a slight decline, but a record crop of 4,000 tons was forecast for 1963. Cashew nut production recovered almost to the 1960 level (forecast, 60,000 tons); but tobacco, oilseeds and nuts had had a poor year. Total production of refined sugar was expected to rise to 55,000 tons, making Tanganyika virtually self-sufficient. At £17.4m. the estimated net output of the livestock industry was slightly above the 1961 level.

Diamond production fell slightly in 1962. There was to be an immediate review of the problems of mining, with special reference to the possible encouragement of gold production.

The real growth in the gross domestic product in 1963 would be approximately 6%, and if the sisal price element was included, the rate of growth should be of the order of 9%.

African Socialism

As a Government committed to the policies and objectives of African Socialism, particular significance was attached to the rôle of the Government and the co-operative societies in investment. "However, we clearly recognize that in certain sectors of the economy private enterprise has still an important rôle to play, whether in association with the Government and the co-operative societies or operating on its own initiative.

"It is in order to encourage private investment that the Government is introducing investment guarantee legislation at this session, and will establish a new form of comprehensive economic planning in which members of the private sector, together with representatives of Government, the co-operatives and trade unions, will be invited to participate".

There was common agreement in principle on the need to establish an East African Central Bank, and a decision was likely to be taken in the near future on the constitution and structure of the Bank and the steps necessary for its establishment.

Delays had been encountered in the negotiations for external aid, upon which the three-year development plan's execution depended to a great extent. This year's expenditure—the third year of the plan—had shown a disappointing drop to a programme of only £6m. But many of the negotiations for finance in the past seven months had been successfully concluded, with trade agreements entered into with Yugoslavia, Poland and Czechoslovakia, and further agreements pending with Hungary and Japan.

"Unless my confidence is misplaced, we shall have successfully obtained sufficient external finance to add to our own resources to see our way to reaching the target of £24m. which we set ourselves. In our applications to the World Bank for roads and secondary education we have sought aid to finance a programme which goes beyond June 30, 1964. The same applies to our application to the British Government for a Commonwealth Assistance Loan. If these negotiations are successful we shall be assured of finance for some parts of the successor programme. In the new plan now being prepared we shall set higher targets, for which we shall need to secure a greater volume of foreign aid".

Foreign donors related the amount of their assistance to the amount which the people themselves provided. "If our own contribution remains small, the amount of aid we can expect to get in the future will be correspondingly limited. The task I have set myself in the budget is to mobilize greater resources from within Tanganyika".

To that end he was taking advantage of the improved budgetary position to absorb within the recurrent budget expenditure of £394,000 which had been charged out in the present year of development; a new public stock issue of £1m. would be made on July 1 on a tap basis similar to that which had been successfully used in the past year: to enable people with small incomes throughout the country to save and help with financing development a new issue of 10s. bearer saving bonds would be introduced. Instead of earning interest the bonds would attract a tax-free capital bonus according to the number of years held before encashment.

The Government had studied the feasibility of instituting a health and insurance and a national provident fund scheme. Recommendations were now being examined, and it was likely that decisions on implementing them would soon be reached. Various important benefits would accrue to those who became contributors, and both schemes would also increase the volume of national savings available for the improvement of medical services and financing development.

"Hesitate No Longer"

The Government was concerned to see that the maximum of income from insurance was retained in the country as was consistent with sound investment practice. It had been decided that there must be national participation in the field of insurance and action would be taken as soon as the detailed planning was completed. "There is no intention that the national stake in insurance will be a monopoly one", the Minister said. "The public participation planned will not deny full opportunity to co-operative as well as private insurance interests".

Financially, Tanganyika had done better than had been feared. Of an estimated £2m. deficit, the actual deficit on the recurrent budget had turned out to be £1,079,000, mainly through a very large increase in customs duties in the last quarter of the year.

"The economic prospects in the forthcoming year are in almost every respect favourable, and we are on the threshold of a rapid new advance. The increases in production, the improvement in the terms of trade for various products, together with the large programme of public expenditure which we can see our way to undertake, will open up new opportunities for commerce, new possibilities of industrial development. Let those who have hesitated to join in our nation-building, whether through self-help schemes or the investment of resources of money and skill which are at their command, hesitate no longer.

"The budget is designed to meet the great challenge and great opportunity before us. The Government may plan, exhort and encourage, but in the final analysis it is the broad initiative of all our people that will set the tempo of achievement. Their toil and labours, their enterprise, their willingness to postpone the enjoyment of the good things of life for the future benefit of their motherland—these are the factors which will determine the success of our aims. Let all of us therefore offer ourselves to the service of our country by redoubling our efforts to build a greater Tanganyika upon which our children and future generations will look with pride".

East Africa Dinner

THE EAST AFRICA DINNER CLUB will hold its annual banquet in London on Thursday, July 4, when the Duke of Devonshire will be the chief guest. The cost of tickets will be 40s. to members of the club for themselves, their families, and guests, and 45s. to non-members. Tickets will be obtained from Miss V. C. Young, the honorary secretary, c/o East African Office, Grand Buildings, Trafalgar Square, London, W.C.2. Sir Patrick Renison will preside.

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Tory M.P. on "Climate of Distrust"

Folly and Faithlessness in Africa

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA called attention last week in a leading article to the fact that no national newspaper and no M.P. had emphasized that the rot within the Conservative Party and the Government had begun in Africa at the beginning of 1960.

Mr. Patrick Wall, M.P. for Haltemprice, Yorkshire, said at a party fête in his constituency on Saturday that there were three aspects to the Profumo affair: personal standards of morality and the truthfulness of Ministers, the security aspect, and the disquieting feeling that the Government's policies have too often been based on expediency rather than on basic principles.

He said that he had told his executive committee some time ago that he was concerned at the camouflage built around some aspects of Government policy seemingly to conceal the ultimate object of the policy.

Treachery

In 1960-61 the party had been assured that the principle of multi-racialism would be adopted in Kenya. Instead, the Africans were rapidly given more power than they had ever contemplated, with the result that forces hostile to Britain were now in control. The Governor who referred to Mr. Kenyatta as "a leader to darkness and death" was retired, and Mr. Kenyatta would soon be Head of State.

"In 1960 the Prime Minister, referring to the Central African Federation, said that it would be an act of treachery if, without further thought, we tore up this great experiment which was only seven years old. Other Ministers continued to have faith in the Federation. Yet at the end of 1962 the Federation was destroyed.

"Sir Roy Welensky, Prime Minister of the Federation, said six months ago that the history of his dealings with the British Government had made his Government believe that there was little, if any, honour left. Few then believed him!

Thrown To Wolves

"It now appears that the British Government are trying to force Southern Rhodesia along the disastrous road trodden by Kenya.

"I received a letter yesterday from Southern Rhodesia which said: 'We viewed with sardonic amusement the long struggle on behalf of the Nigerian chief who has finally been returned to his country for trial, culminating in uproar in the House of Commons, as we realize only too well that the majority of all political parties in the United Kingdom would throw thousands of Europeans here to the wolves—as they are doing in Kenya—with hardly any regret'.

"If Britain decided in 1960 to quit Africa, then it was only right that Africans, both black and white, should have been told of this decision. Had that been done, neither race would have been faced with the disastrous economic and political consequences that concern them today.

"You may wonder what this has to do with the Profumo affair; but it is this background climate of distrust that has been created which is to my mind so dangerous to the party and the nation.

"It is now essential that the party rallies and demonstrates that it stands for basic principles, even if in the short term this appears to prove-unpopular".

Disheartening Friends and Encouraging Enemies

A LEADING ARTICLE in *The Times* brought the following reply from Major James Friend:—

"I challenge the entire content of your leading article headed 'Fair and Durable' of June 6. You insist that Mr. Field should make concessions concerning the African franchise in a Constitution only just set up, and yet untried, in order to appease world opinion.

"When we stood alone in 1940 our first reinforcements were from our loyal white Rhodesians, without whom the line against the Fascist axis in the desert could not have been held. You suggest now that for political expediency they should embark on a course which will destroy all British achievement of the last 70 years, endanger their lives and then serve as a base for a black advance, backed by both American money and Russian agitators, on the Cape.

"If you have hitherto been unable to understand that, a study of the speeches of the Addis Ababa Conference should make it clear. Haile Selassie himself owes his return to Ethiopia to the South African Army, yet he has confirmed that this is the intention of black African nationalism. You are the leading newspaper in this country. To disown continually the qualities of loyalty and courage on the altar of political expediency can only dishearten our friends and encourage our enemies".

Mr. B. R. Rowland, of the Henderson Research Station, Mazoe, wrote:—

"Your comment brings despair to the Europeans of Southern Rhodesia. Perhaps one of its aims was to do so. We are your brothers. Our parents and our sons live or study in England, yet you give your Government such fearful advice and tell them it is their duty to follow it.

"Are you good? Are you right? Are you sure we are evil and wrong? Do you know the pattern of the present, of the future, both immediate and long-term, Southern Rhodesia? Do you know what we face, what we endure, what we endeavour to do, what we achieve? Even in this age of interference we do not presume to dictate the management of the affairs of your country. We assume you are decent men. Why do you assume we are not? What have we done to deserve your horrible threats?

"From now on it would seem that responsibility for almost any form of violence here can be laid at the door of *The Times*. Are you right?"

Integrity and Sincerity of Purpose

MR. EDWARD HOLLOWAY, editor of the journal of the Commonwealth Industries Association, who has just returned to London from a visit to Southern Rhodesia, has said in the course of a short letter in the *Financial Times*:—

"You have posed the question 'How wild are Field's wild men?' Having met all the members of Mr. Field's Cabinet, I can give a categorical answer: there is a sense of responsibility and a quality of integrity and sincerity of purpose which one wishes were more apparent among politicians elsewhere.

"In my considered view decisions taken by Mr. Field and his Cabinet will be based first upon the welfare of the people in the territory, both black and white. They will not be influenced by policies of those who are committed to destroy what they have built.

"We in Britain should realize that to force these men into accepting an impossible compromise will inevitably ruin the chances of the development of a community in which black and white can live side by side without the rancour and hatred which are all too obvious in other territories having the same problem".

NORTHERN RHODESIA



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Mr. Antony Lejeune has written in the *New Daily*—
 "Nobody underrated the importance or the explosive perils of what is happening in Africa, but we do, I think, underestimate the magnitude of our moral abdication there. We have not only abandoned physical possessions and political power; we have also abandoned—and it is perhaps the more significant surrender—all the principles and ideals of civilized government which inspired the old imperialists. We are surrendering power, reckless of the hands into which it may fall.

"The white people of Southern Rhodesia, with so many examples before them, will hardly be deceived by comfortable talk; nor, for that matter, will the blacks. Constitutional niceties cannot now conceal the true choice: will the blacks be ruled by whites or will the whites be ruled by blacks? The British Government is dedicated to persuading the white Rhodesians that they must soon be ruled by blacks. Mr. Winston Field's Government was specifically elected to prevent such a reversal of power. For practical reasons both Governments would like to prevent a complete *impasse*, but the chances are slim and the prospect of agreement in the long run seems non-existent".

Pessimistic Assessment

A pessimistic assessment by the *Economist* of the situation and prospects in Southern Rhodesia was given the sub-heading "It may not be possible to avoid the bloody worst in Britain's Central African responsibility".

The page article said (in part):—

"Expensive, tedious, and morally awkward though it may be, Britain's entanglement in Central Africa will not disappear with the anticipated break-up of the Federation and the packing-off of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland to independence. Barring an inexcusable abandonment of responsibility, the British Government will still be there, in the thick of it, as long as white men govern Southern Rhodesia.

"In the weeks since the right-wing Rhodesian Front surprised itself and everyone else by winning the Southern Rhodesian elections, the tendency in Britain has been to say how personally nice the Front man, Mr. Field, turned out to be—and hope for the best. But Mr. Field represents a policy of keeping white men in power; if he failed to stick to that policy the people behind him would find a new leader.

"For the first time in Southern Rhodesia, Africans are sitting on the benches—thanks to the Constitution introduced by Sir Edgar Whitehead. But all 14 black members are men selected as window-dressing by Sir Edgar's United Federal Party, which has 28 seats (14 white) in a house of 65.

"In strictly parliamentary terms, this puts Mr. Field's Cabinet of amateurs, none of whom had ever held office before December, in a strong position. If they fail in debate to match the sophistication of Sir Edgar's bench of former Ministers, at least their backbenchers might match some of Sir Edgar's. Some of Sir Edgar's white members might feel themselves more at home on the Government benches; the division within his party between liberals and right-wingers runs deep.

Mess on Britain's Doorstep

"The Rhodesian Front's most formidable obstacle is the sheer weight of numbers of Africans—three million, against 220,000 whites. Nationalist passions are likely to become more dangerous. Unemployment—notably of educated Africans—is increasing, and white living standards, the attraction of the place for white men, are being threatened by the imminent break-up of the Federation. To conclude that Mr. Field will make concessions to Africans in order to persuade Dr. Banda and Mr. Kaunda to accept a continued Central African common market for Southern Rhodesia's manufacturers might be to hope too much. If the price demanded by Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland seemed too high Mr. Field's followers might turn for economic assistance to South Africa.

"All depends on how determined to stay on top Southern Rhodesia's whites are. Only no-nonsense *apartheid* (supported by the requisite amount of force) will hold back the tide. How far is Mr. Field likely to go? During his first six weeks in office all African political detainees were released—but Mr. Nkomo and seven others have been arrested, on charges of taking part in illegal processions, assaulting or obstructing the police and contravening local by-laws. Four of them could get 10 years in gaol.

"This picture of a Colony which, for all its internal self-government since 1923, is still the ultimate responsibility (on paper at least) of the British Government, cannot be anything other than depressing. The most optimistic view must be that widespread bloodshed in the coming years will be avoided. But the mess will remain on Britain's doorstep".

Money Shortage Halts Plans

Uganda Resents Tardy Investment

ADDITIONAL TAXATION was announced in Uganda last week by the Finance Minister, Mr. Amos Sempa, when he introduced a £600,000 deficit budget, against anticipated revenue of £23.4m.

Income tax payable by controlled (so-called "one man") companies has been raised to 7s.50cts. in the £ (chargeable for 1962), and corporation tax to 3s.50cts., but income tax is reduced to 4s. in other companies. These measures, with some technical changes, should realize £460,000 in the coming year.

Excise duty on sugar is up two cents a pound to produce £150,000. Customs duties (£63,000) have been introduced on "luxury" building materials that could be substituted for by local products. Protective duties have been imposed on cement, aluminium tanks, some types of stainless steel, and fishing flies.

A flat 25% duty will operate on imported fruit and vegetables, lifts, non-industrial refrigerators, air coolers, toys, and weighing and measuring machines. A specific rate of 1s.25cts. per lb. will apply to pneumatic tyres and tubes.

Estate duty has been re-introduced—it was withdrawn in 1959—from £5,000 upwards, which might provide some £50,000 a year.

Mr. Sempa said that the Government had done its best to stimulate the economy. In agriculture, adverse weather conditions had curtailed success. Development schemes had had to be suspended or shelved because of lack of finance and delays in obtaining external assistance. "It appears that some of our friends abroad may have forgotten that he gives twice who gives quickly", Mr. Sempa complained.

Reserves Low

"We are, however, building a momentum of effort which is bound soon to have its reward. Before long we shall see the day when the cost of better and increased services can be raised from the natural growth of revenue".

But with the reserves standing at only £2.8m., additional taxation was needed, though that would hardly affect the "common man".

Recurrent estimates of expenditure for the coming year were some £2m. higher than last year's revised figures, owing to additional expenditure on the Army (£670,000); a large statutory contribution to Buganda and increased grants to Busoga, the western kingdoms, and the administrations (£600,000); extra provisions for health (£360,000); police and prisons (£200,000); increased foreign representation (£100,000); and the proposed television service for educational development in its widest sense, coupled with more frequent publication of Government vernacular newspapers.

Tanganyika's Sisal Export Tax Rates

Industry May Pay Another £7 a Ton

SISAL and sisal tow exported from Tanganyika on and after June 12 have to bear substantially increased rates of export tax.

When the f.o.b. value per ton is between £75 and £100, the rate will be 5% ad valorem; between £100 and £110, the tax will be £5 per ton plus 10s. for every £1 by which the value exceeds £100; in the £110 to £115 bracket the tax rate is now £10 plus £1 for each £1 by which the value exceeds £110; above £125 the new tax is 20% ad valorem.

Until a formula on which calculations are to be made has been agreed between the industry and the customs authorities it is not possible to state exactly what increased levy is imposed upon the industry. Some of its leaders are of the opinion that the average of about £5 per ton hitherto paid over all grades will rise to not less than £12 per ton.

It is not considered that buyers will be prepared to accept correspondingly higher prices for sisal. If that should prove to be the case, the charge will fall upon producers.

De Beers Consolidated Mines, Ltd., has declared a dividend of R1, or 10s. per share.

De Beers Industrial Corporation, Ltd., has declared an interim dividend of 10 cents, equivalent to 1s. per share.

The Nucleus gold mine, Mazoe, Southern Rhodesia, has been bought by the Lonrho Group. During the past few months about 500 oz. gold have been produced from every 400 tons of ore milled, indicating, in the words of a company spokesman, "a very rich seam indeed".

"Staggering" Uganda Salaries

Unsound Economics for Poor Country

UGANDA'S PUBLIC SERVICE is grossly over-staffed and over-graded, in the opinion of the Uganda Civil Service Salaries Commission, consisting of Mr. Michael O. Ani (chairman) and Mr. Thomas Elwood. Almost half of the country's annual net recurrent expenditure is taken by personal emoluments, which absorb "the staggering total of £9.5m." out of £20m. when "austerity lies ahead of Uganda".

The report emphasizes that the budget introduced in June, 1962, foresaw a deficit of £3.3m., reducing the reserves to less than £3m. New taxation imposed last April should produce about £4m. in a full year but a deficit of another £1m. is expected for 1962-63.

The combined budgets of the Central Government, the kingdoms, the regional administrations and local governments already require 25% of the country's monetary domestic product.

The commissioners were told by the Treasury that in 1962-63 personal emoluments would amount to about £8m. exclusive of the cost of daily-paid unestablished employees numbering 18,000. Pensions, gratuities, costs of housing civil servants, and allowances of various kinds would add £1.5m.

Submissions made by Government departments and groups or associations of civil servants of all ranks were considered to show lack of appreciation of the country's financial position. Constructive and practicable suggestions were few, but proposals were plentiful for increases in salaries and staff.

The report quotes the World Bank view that "Government salaries in Uganda are very high in relation to average incomes in the private sector" in support of its recommendation that above a certain level salaries should be pegged for some time and that in such cases no allowances should be paid for increased costs of living.

Representations, regarded as exaggerated, about the lack of men of professional and high administrative ability were coupled with suggestions of salaries up to £4,000. "Frequent references were made to 'world market value', the suggestion

apparently being that Uganda, one of the poorer countries, should enter into competition with the wealthiest countries to secure the best men, and in order to retain its present staff should pay them salaries related to the rates obtaining in more prosperous fields — a course which is economically unsound and in the long run would be disastrous".

The World Bank report is quoted as saying: "A basic Government salary structure appropriate to a country like the United Kingdom, with a per capita gross national product of £450, is hardly right for a country where the gross domestic product is £23 per head".

"On the 'goose and gander' argument, it seems the Government feels itself bound to offer young graduates fresh from the Kamapala Technical Institute appointments as inspectors of works on the salary scale £687 to £1,173. During our discussion with the principal of the institute it was clear that he could not conceive how newly-qualified candidates from the institute could be expected to assume the supervisory responsibilities at the inspector of works level without adequate experience".

Civil servants of all ranks agreed that departmental establishments are too large and top-heavy. Of 22,560 established posts 259 are super-scale, having increased from 214 in 1960 and only 125 in 1954, because there was insufficient delegation downwards of functions and responsibilities and through lack of proper integration of professional departments within Ministries.

"Symmetrical" Pattern

"We have observed in many instances that the senior staff of a professional department consists of a director, a deputy director, one and often two assistant directors, and, where the department is further subdivided, an officer on the short super-scale at the head of each sub-division. This pattern, so often repeated, lends itself to the suggestion that it is designed more for symmetry than for the needs of the work. We feel sure that in many cases it will be found on examination that without sacrifice of efficiency the deputy director post can be suppressed or the post or posts of assistant directors".

The commissioners recommend immediate reduction of super-scale posts by 20%.

Of 990 A scale posts only 541 are professional (excluding teachers), while in the C scale, again excluding teachers, the number of posts is 1,235, suggesting that there are two professional officers for every five in technological posts. "We recommend a ratio of one to four". In the subordinate services a 10% cut in numbers is urged.

The regulations about acting, duty, and special allowances are described as "a prolific source of confusion, discontent, and hard feelings". It is proposed that duty and special allowances should be abolished; that no acting allowance should be paid for less than 30 days; and that more stringent regulations for such allowances should be introduced. Disturbance allowances, made when an official is transferred from one station to another, should not be paid more than once in two years, and never when the transfer is made at the request of the man concerned.

Six Months Away

"Under present standing orders leave can be accumulated up to a maximum of 180 days for officers on salaries of more than £945 and 150 days for those below that level. The question may arise as to whether an officer's services are really necessary if he can be spared from his post for as long a period as six months. Absence for any period longer than 30 days involves payment of an acting allowance to the officer who for the time being fills the place of his absent colleague.

"We strongly recommend that permission to accumulate leave be abandoned forthwith, and that in future any leave not taken within the 12 months to which it is related be forfeited. We recommend that accumulated leave should be liquidated over the next four years by officers taking some part of it each year in addition to their normal annual leave, and that any balance remaining at the end of the four-year period be forfeited.

"Proposals have been made that accumulated leave should be commuted for a cash payment in the case of certain officers. We would regard such a step as a most dangerous proceeding. Such a measure could not in equity be confined to a favoured few, but would have to be extended at great cost to the whole Service. It would also, human nature being what it is, put a premium on officers' deliberately seeking to carry forward leave from one year to the next for the sake of financial gain.

"We question whether, without specific parliamentary authority, Government can legally pay to an officer by way of remuneration in any one year an amount greater than the sum authorized as the salary for the post he occupies".

The commissioners recommend annual leave entitlements running between 18 and 32 days, as was recommended some years ago by the Flemming Commission, upon whose proposals in this respect the Government did not act.



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Kenya Ministers Seek Independence

Minorities: "Who Are These Animals?"

ANOTHER CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE as soon as possible to produce an independence Constitution for Kenya, and some indication of a date for the Colony's independence, have been under discussion in London since last Friday, when Mr. T. J. Mboya, Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs, Mr. J. Murumbi, Minister of State in the Prime Minister's Office, and Mr. P. Koinange, Minister for Pan-African Affairs, met the Colonial and Commonwealth Relations Secretary, Mr. Duncan Sandys.

Mr. Mboya told the Press at London Airport that these were matters of urgency, both because his party, K.A.N.U., had an "overwhelming" mandate to speak for the people of Kenya, and because it was anticipated that the projected East African Federation could become a reality "several months before the end of this year". Lawyers were already working on a draft federal Constitution, and the Governments concerned expected to meet again to finalize the details in August, or even July.

"Kenya intends to be a republic on the first day of independence, and not after a year, as has been the case with some other countries. We do not see any need to waste time and have a period between the independence and the republic nor can we afford the time or the money for two separate sets of celebrations.

"We envisage that the constitutional conference will be a conference between the British Government and the Kenya Government essentially. We shall have token representation by the Opposition. Kenya is going to be governed by the Government, not by the Opposition".

The President of the republic would have executive powers. Procedure for changing the Constitution should be made less rigid than the present system, which requires a 75% majority in the Lower House and a 90% majority in the Upper Senate. "Either you have a Constitution that will

work or you don't. If a Constitution is unworkable it is going to be broken".

To suggestions that the new Constitution and Government should undergo a reasonable trial period before full independence, Mr. Mboya retorted: "Who is trying who? We are governing Kenya, and no one can remove us".

Before leaving Nairobi he had been asked about representation at the next conference, and had said that there was no intention that regional authorities should be present. Asked whether minority interests might be represented, he rejoined: "Who are these animals?"

Regions and the Centre

He also said in Nairobi that attempts by the regions or the assembly presidents to behave as if they were governments would be dealt with firmly. "There is an impression that the regions are governments. They are not. There is only one Government, the Kenya Government, and it functions throughout Kenya including those areas where K.A.D.U. has a majority in the regional assemblies.

"We will respect the constitutional position of the regions, but we will not tolerate any attempt by any region or regional president to behave or pretend as though they were governments. Any encouragement to flout the authority of the Kenya Government in any part of the country by a region, its president or any other person, will be dealt with firmly and swiftly".

To remove confusion, the term "regional authorities" had been substituted for "regional governments". The assemblies were to operate through committees on a local government pattern, not on the ministerial pattern.

The N.F.D. dispute with the Somali people was neither a problem nor a crisis, he asserted, but a "setback we know we can deal with in a few months". Recent talks with the Foreign Minister of the Somali Republic had been "useful and friendly".

Secession Desire Stands

A Kenya Government statement announced last week that representatives of all tribal and political groups in the North-Eastern Region (where last month's elections were boycotted) had agreed on the formation of an advisory council to maintain law and order and collect taxes. Stock marketing, water supplies, education expansion and more rapid "localization" were also discussed.

The creation of the council was agreed on the proviso that "it be clearly understood that it implies no change in the often repeated desire of inhabitants of the region to secede from Kenya". Only a minority group of the Northern Province People's Progressive Party absented itself from the meeting, held in Garissa under the civil secretary of the area, Mr. R. S. Winsor.

Mr. Mboya was asked in London about Southern Rhodesia. "If the British Government attempt to grant independence to Southern Rhodesia under its present Government", he replied, "we would feel that it was an unfriendly act to the African people. It would be a mockery for us to continue in the Commonwealth under these circumstances. It would be completely hypocritical".

Victoria Falls Conference

MR. WINSTON FIELD, the Prime Minister, told the Southern Rhodesian Parliament on Tuesday that his Government would attend the Victoria Falls conference on the Federal dissolution called by Mr. Butler for tomorrow week if further discussions between Mr. Field and Mr. Butler on the two preceding days were satisfactory. The Federal and Northern Rhodesian Governments have also agreed to attend, and the Nyasaland Government will send observers.

Industrialization in Tanganyika

MR. KAHAMA, Minister for Commerce and Industry in Tanganyika, has told Mwanza Chamber of Commerce and Industry that Mwanza could become one of the country's most progressive towns. Arusha and Moshi had shown a dynamic approach to industrialization, Tanga had similarly established an investment committee, and he hoped that every major town would set aside adequate industrial areas and provide essential services. Until that was done investors would naturally gravitate to towns offering such facilities. Tanganyika would for the first time have a stand at the Northern Rhodesian Trade Fair in Ndola this year (in July), and had been represented for the first time at international trade fairs in Italy, Germany, Israel, Czechoslovakia, and Nigeria.



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References to Bribery in Kenya

Essential to Attract Foreign Capital

DR. J. G. KIANO, Minister for Commerce and Industry in Kenya, said last Thursday at a luncheon in Nairobi of the Indian Chamber of Commerce:—

"All essentially racial business associations and social clubs must now open the doors wide for all or else disband.

"Every man has a right to choose his personal friends and business associates or partners, but when it comes to activities dealing with the public in general colour differentiation is contrary to the *Harambee* spirit. You cannot work together and at the same time separately.

"From the standpoint of chambers of commerce and industry, I prefer a truly integrated chamber, not merely an association or federation of essentially racially separate units which seek to maintain their racial separate identities. A truly integrated Kenya Chamber would then federate with similar bodies in Uganda and Tanganyika to form a genuinely East African Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry.

"We must get rid of bribery and corruption in business and all other walks of life. Some merchants engage in unfair competition to knock down their rivals by bribing customers with gifts or by temporarily lowering their prices even below cost price just to ruin the other fellow. This practice has been responsible for knocking down up-and-coming small African businessmen or keeping them always on the fringe. Other and worse forms of corruption also exist, though not as extensively as in some other newly-independent nations.

"The Kenya Government through the police is doing and will continue to do all it can to root out corruption. I want to see honesty, integrity, and fair play shining throughout this fair land. Bribery and corruption will be mercilessly punished.

"I do not like threats or intimidation in economic matters or in any other fields of public affairs. A few people have made references to trade boycotts against Asians. I do not want to hear any more about such threats. If anyone has a complaint against any trader, let him bring it to the appropriate authority for attention. Threats can harm both sides of the allaged dispute.

"I shall not lose sight of encouraging and attracting the big investor and the foreign *entrepreneur*, whose rôle in our economic growth is crucial and indispensable. My concern is to enhance the climate of confidence and to adhere to K.A.N.U.'s policy of equitable sharing of Kenya's wealth instead of economic exploitation of the majority by a few speculators."

Tanganyika A New Country

THE RT. REV. TREVOR HUDDLESTON, Bishop of Masasi, told the general council of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa before he returned to East Africa: "Tanganyika is a new country, not a country that has remained the same but has added a top-dressing of Africanization. We must realize that it is a totally new country if we are not to be constantly frustrated. There is a great need for the clergy to be in every way of the same quality as the new political leaders. The younger generation has the world at its feet — any member of it might become a Cabinet Minister — and it will not be attracted to a priesthood which seems to be identified with a low academic level and an indifferent academic training and, of course, a very low salary."

Not Enough Barristers

MR. MUIR HUNTER, a British barrister, states in a paper published by the British section of the International Committee of Jurists that only two African lawyers are qualified to practise in Kenya, five in Tanganyika, 15 in Uganda, two in Northern Rhodesia, one in Nyasaland, and two in Southern Rhodesia (one as a barrister and the other as a solicitor). In none of the territories is there an indigenous African judge or first-class magistrate, though Uganda has recently appointed an African from Nigeria as Chief Justice.

Harsh Punishment for Game Poachers

Conservation of Kenya's Wild Life

MR. L. G. SAGINI, Kenya's new Minister for Lands, Game, Fisheries, Water and Natural Resources, said on Friday at the annual meeting of the East African Wild Life Society:—

"It is our duty to educate the people of East Africa into the economic and cultural need for the conservation of our wild life, scenery and forests. Our wild life is very important to our national economy, for in wild life lies a vast income potential for which we have no alternative.

"Last year tourists brought £8½m. into East Africa. They came from all parts of the world to see East Africa and its wild life. Destroy that wild life and you destroy one of the mainstays of the economy.

"We people of Africa, who stand to gain most from our wild life, must lead in the conservation battle. Great strides have been made with the introduction of a number of African district council game parks and sanctuaries. The Masai African district councils are now entirely responsible for both Amboseli and Keekerok. Meru A.D.C. has, with little Government aid, produced its magnificent Meru Game Park, which may become one of our great tourist potentials.

"Largely due to the efforts of the East African Wild Life Society, there will soon be a nature reserve in the lovely Shimba Hills which contains one of the last herds of sable antelope.

"The Government is faced with the appalling depredations of game by self-interested poachers. There are two kinds of poacher—the one in search of meat, for whom there must be a degree of sympathy while condemning his methods, and the poacher who kills for financial gain, assisted by wealthy middlemen, without whom he could never export his illicit ivory or his rhino horn. We shall follow the lead of Uganda and Tanganyika and inflict the harshest punishments on that type of poacher."

Nairobi Chamber of Commerce

MR. G. ST. L. D'ADHÈMAR, who has followed Mr. R. J. Hillard as president of Nairobi Chamber of Commerce, was last year's vice-president, and has been chairman of the standing committees dealing with development and legislation.

The chairmen for the current year of the six standing committees are Messrs. G. C. Reed (Communications), I. S. Ednie (Development), J. P. Ord (Finance), G. S. Price (General Purposes), M. W. Harley (Legislation), and R. C. N. Carne (Statistics).

Five other members of the management committee are Messrs. P. J. Gill (Professional and Financial Section), J. D. S. Mackay (Local Industries and Export Merchants), J. W. Kendrew (Construction, Engineering and Allied Trades), C. M. Bourne (Importers, Wholesale Distributors & Agents), and L. J. Chapman (Servicing Industries and Trades).

African "Liberation" Committee

TANGANYIKA is the first African territory to pay its contribution (£30,000) to the African Liberation Committee which the recent Addis Ababa Conference decided to establish. Consisting of representatives of Algeria, the Congo (Leopoldville), Ethiopia, Guinea, Nigeria, Senegal, Tanganyika, the United Arab Republic, and Uganda, it will meet for the first time in Dar es Salaam next Tuesday. Offices have already been opened in Ingles House, Dar es Salaam (P.O. Box 1767), and Mr. Sebastian Chale, Tanganyika's delegate at the United Nations, who was a member of the Tanganyika delegation to the conference in Ethiopia, has been temporarily seconded to establish the secretariat.

Addis Ababa Charter

(Concluded from page 893)

Article IX.—The Assembly shall be composed of the Heads of State and Government or their duly accredited representatives, and it shall meet at least once a year. At the request of any member State and on approval by a two-thirds majority of the member States, the Assembly shall meet in extraordinary session.

Article X.—(1) Each member State shall have one vote. (2) All resolutions shall be determined by a two-thirds majority of the members of the Organization. (3) Questions of procedure shall require a simple majority. Whether or not a question is one of procedure shall be determined by a simple majority of all member States of the Organization. (4) Two-thirds of the total membership of the Organization shall form a quorum at any meeting of the Assembly.

Article XI.—The Assembly shall have the power to determine its own rules of procedure.

THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

Article XII.—(1) The Council of Ministers shall consist of Foreign Ministers or such other Ministers as are designated by the Governments of member States. (2) The Council of Ministers shall meet at least twice a year. When requested by any member State and approved by two-thirds of all member States, it shall meet in extraordinary session.

Article XIII.—(1) The Council of Ministers shall be responsible to the Assembly of Heads of State and Government. It shall be entrusted with the responsibility of preparing conferences of the Assembly. (2) It shall take cognisance of any matter referred to it by the Assembly. It shall be entrusted with the implementation of the decision of the Assembly of Heads of State, and Government. It shall co-ordinate inter-African co-operation in accordance with the instructions of the assembly and in conformity with Article II (2) of the present Charter.

Article XIV.—(1) Each member State shall have one vote. (2) All resolutions shall be determined by a simple majority of the members of the council of Ministers. (3) Two-thirds of the total membership of the Council of Ministers shall form a quorum for any meeting of the Council.

Article XV.—The Council shall have the power to determine its own rules of procedure.

GENERAL SECRETARIAT

Article XVI.—There shall be an administrative secretary-general of the Organization, who shall be appointed by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government. The administrative secretary-general shall direct the affairs of the Secretariat.

Article XVII.—There shall be one or more assistant secretaries-general of the Organization, who shall be appointed by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government.

Article XVIII.—The functions and conditions of services of the secretary-general, of the assistant secretaries-general and other employees of the Secretariat shall be governed by the provisions of this Charter and the regulations approved by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government.

(1) In the performance of their duties the administrative secretary-general and the staff shall not seek or receive instructions from any Government or from any other authority external to the Organization. They shall refrain from any action which might reflect on their position as international officials responsible only to the Organization.

(2) Each member of the Organization undertakes to respect the exclusive character of the responsibilities of the administrative secretary-general and the staff and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their responsibilities.

COMMISSION OF MEDIATION, CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION
Article XIX.—Member States pledge to settle all disputes among themselves by peaceful means and to this end decide to establish a Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration, the composition of which and conditions of service shall be defined by a separate protocol to be approved by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government. Said protocol shall be regarded as forming an integral part of the present Charter.

SPECIALISED COMMISSIONS

Article XX.—The Assembly shall establish such Specialized Commissions as it may deem necessary, including the following: (1) Economic and Social Commission; (2) Educational and Cultural Commission; (3) Health, Sanitation and Nutrition Commission; (4) Defence Commission; and (5) Scientific, Technical and Research Commission.

Article XXI.—Each Specialized Commission referred to in Article XX shall be composed of the Ministers concerned or other Ministers or plenipotentiaries designated by the Governments of the Member States.

Article XXII.—The functions of the Specialized Commissions shall be carried out in accordance with the provisions of the present Charter and of the regulations approved by the Council of Ministers.

THE BUDGET

Article XXIII.—The budget of the Organization prepared by the administrative secretary-general shall be approved by the Council of Ministers. The budget shall be provided by contributions from member States in accordance with the scale of assessment of the United Nations; provided, however, that no member State shall be assessed an amount exceeding 20% of the yearly regular budget of the Organization. The member States agree to pay their respective contributions regularly.

SIGNATURE AND RATIFICATION OF CHARTER

Article XXIV.—This Charter shall be open for signature to all independent sovereign African States and shall be ratified by the signatory States in accordance with their respective constitutional processes. (2) The original instrument, done if possible in African languages, in English and French, all texts being equally authentic, shall be deposited with the Government of Ethiopia which shall transmit certified copies thereof to all independent sovereign African States. (3) Instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Government of Ethiopia, which shall notify all signatories of each such deposit.

ENTRY INTO FORCE

Article XXV.—This Charter shall enter into force immediately upon receipt by the Government of Ethiopia of the instruments of ratification from two-thirds of the signatory States.

REGISTRATION OF THE CHARTER

Article XXVI.—This Charter shall, after due ratification, be registered with the Secretariat of the United Nations through the Government of Ethiopia in conformity with Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations.

INTERPRETATION OF THE CHARTER

Article XXVII.—Any question which may arise concerning the interpretation of this Charter shall be decided by a vote of two-thirds of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization.

ADHESION AND ACCESSION

Article XXVIII.—Any independent sovereign African State may at any time notify the administrative secretary-general of its intention to adhere or accede to this Charter. (2) The administrative secretary-general shall, on receipt of such notification, communicate a copy of it to all the member States. Admission shall be decided by a simple majority of the member States. The decision of each member State shall be transmitted to the administrative secretary-general, who shall, upon receipt of the required number of votes, communicate the decision to the State concerned.

MISCELLANEOUS

Article XXIX.—The working languages of the Organization and all its institutions shall be, if possible, African languages, English and French.

Article XXX.—The administrative secretary-general may accept on behalf of the Organization gifts, bequests and other donations made to the Organization, provided that this is approved by the Council of Ministers.

Article XXXI.—The Council of Ministers shall decide on the privileges and immunities to be accorded to the personnel of the Secretariat in the respective territories of the member States.

CESSATION OF MEMBERSHIP

Article XXXII.—Any State which desires to renounce its membership shall forward a written notification to the administrative secretary-general. At the end of one year from the date of such notification, if not withdrawn, the Charter shall cease to apply with respect to the renouncing State, which shall thereby cease to belong to the Organization.

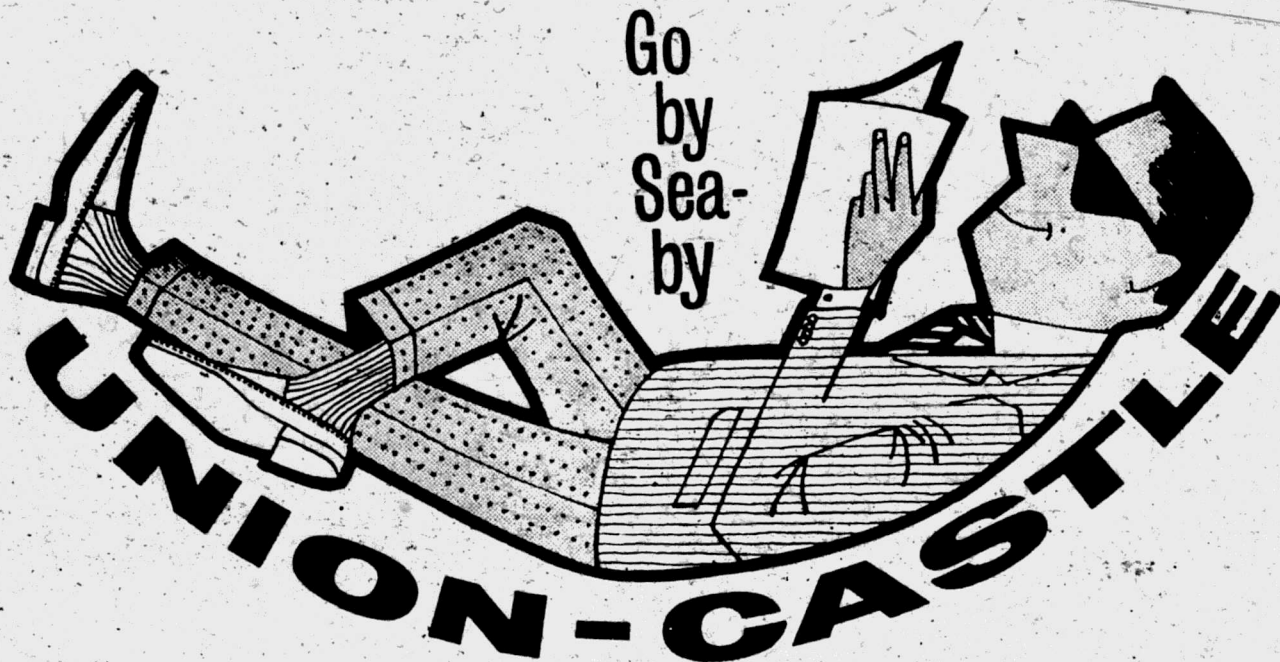
AMENDMENT OF THE CHARTER

Article XXXIII.—This Charter may be amended or revised if any member State makes a written request to the administrative secretary-general to that effect; provided, however, that the proposed amendment is not submitted to the Assembly for consideration until all the member States have been duly notified of it and a period of one year has elapsed. Such an amendment shall not be effective unless approved by at least two-thirds of all the member States.

IN FAITH WHEREOF, We, the Heads of African States and Governments, have signed this Charter.

Done in the City of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, this 25th day of May, 1963.

The signatories were Algeria, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Dahomey, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Tanganyika, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Republic, and Upper Volta.



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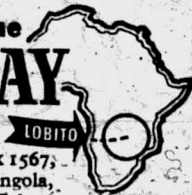
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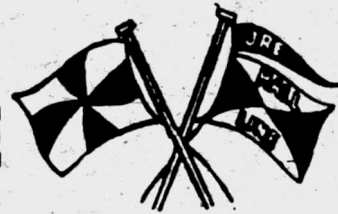
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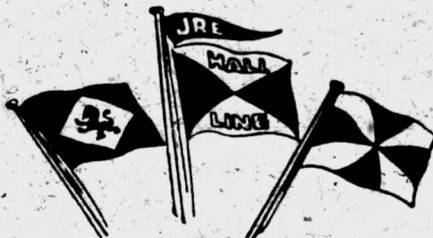
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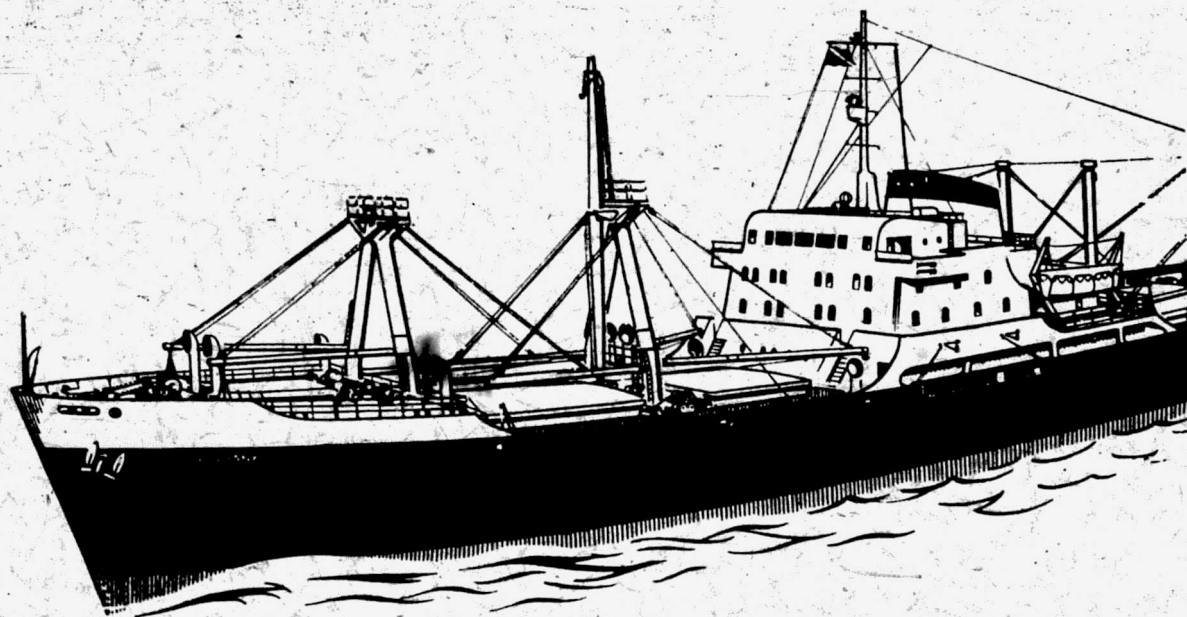
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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, JUNE 27, 1963

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

DISAPPOINTMENT is certain for those who expect clear-cut decisions about the dissolution of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland from the conference which will open tomorrow at the

No Compromise On Vital Issue.

Victoria Falls. Ardent apologists for Mr. R. A. Butler, First Secretary of State and Minister for Central African Affairs, who will preside, are sedulously suggesting that what they call his adroit diplomacy (and other people his casuistry) has already won the day. That is a manifest absurdity, which he could not correct because no ambitious politician rejects praise, but cannot accept, since he has had great difficulty in persuading the Federal and Southern Rhodesian Governments to send delegations, and knew before he left London for Central Africa on Tuesday that it was by no means certain that Mr. Winston Field, and therefore Sir Roy Welensky, would attend or continue in the conference. Their acceptance of the invitation, in the first case explicitly, and in the other inferentially, was made on the condition that the outcome of the discussions due to take place yesterday and today about independence for Southern Rhodesia would not be unsatisfactory to those who have the duty to safeguard the well-being of that Colony. Neither of the Prime Ministers will be beguiled by smooth talk. Mr. Butler—an appeaser since the days of Munich—should know that the Rhodesian leaders will not compromise on an absolutely vital issue.

The United Kingdom Government pretends or has convinced itself—and that would be still worse—that the deadlock can be removed by adding a few thousand more

Trying to Appease The Unappeasable.

Africans to the electorate in Southern Rhodesia and giving Africans ten more seats in Parliament, so that they would have one

more than a third of the total membership and consequently be able to prevent the two-thirds majority required for certain changes in the Constitution. Mr. Butler argues stubbornly for these changes because the Cabinet is scared to take a stand which would displease the Government of the United States, the Afro-Asian bloc at the United Nations, and the independent African States. The plain fact, however, is that if the concessions favoured by MacButlerism were made, the attacks upon Southern Rhodesia would be intensified, not discontinued or even moderated, for the extremist nationalists who now dominate the United Nations Organization and rage throughout Africa will be satisfied with nothing short of African domination. Everyone closely acquainted with the African political leaders in Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Tanganyika, Kenya, Uganda and Ghana has known for a long time that their next external objective was Southern Rhodesia. The recent Addis Ababa Conference could not have been more candid on the point: it pledged thirty independent African States to finance and organize "liberation movements" to destroy, *inter alia*, responsible government in Southern Rhodesia.

* * *

The United Kingdom Government elects to disregard the evidence that its idea of appeasing African extremism is futile in theory and would be suicidal for Southern Rhodesia in practice. Re-

Macmillanism Pusillanimous.

sponsible Africans in that Colony are horrified at the prospect of being ruled by the Nkomo clique, and the Europeans have no intention of seeing the work of three-quarters of a century swept away to accommodate a United Kingdom Government which it profoundly distrusts and a Disunited Nations for whose antics in the Congo and elsewhere in Africa it has complete contempt. As recently as last Friday the dictator of

Ghana told his National Assembly that independent Africa would refuse to recognize any Southern Rhodesian Government which had not been elected by universal adult franchise; and that would promptly swamp the experienced Europeans and substitute rule by wholly inexperienced Africans. Abdication to immature and self-seeking tub-thumpers, not the Butler prescription, is the alternative to the gradualism favoured by all reasonable Rhodesians — who have every reason to complain at Britain's propagation of a plan which is manifestly unsatisfactory *ab initio*. Indeed, since the Constitution which Mr. Butler is so eager to amend was drafted only eighteen months ago, largely by the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations for the specific purpose of carrying Southern Rhodesia to independence, Rhodesians are entitled to accuse H.M. Government of betraying them. Rhodesia's needs cannot have changed fundamentally in under two years; but Macmillanism has become more markedly pusillanimous, and therefore wants to repudiate—without of course mentioning repudiation—what it so recently endorsed, and indeed proposed.

* * *

Mr. Field's report to the Southern Rhodesian Parliament on his negotiations with the United Kingdom could not have been more explicit. It declares the United Kingdom attitude to be "very muddled" on some points; shows **Candid Report.** that Mr. Butler indulged in a protracted period of political gamesmanship before revealing the views of H.M. Government on independence; indicates his Government's resentment at suggestions which are almost threats; affirms that principle will not be abandoned for expediency; and asserts, in particular, that there will be no attempt to appease African nationalist politicians who would be satisfied with nothing short of "the departure of all Europeans from Southern Rhodesia". Because the Macmillan Cabinet repeatedly deceived the Federal Government, Mr. Field had decided not to attend the Falls Conference unless he had previously received from H.M. Government a written assurance that the Colony would be granted independence on the day on which that status was attained by Nyasaland or Northern Rhodesia or either was allowed to secede from the Federation.

* * *

The conciliatory tactical gesture last week of consenting to attend although no written promise had been given was promptly

misinterpreted by almost all United Kingdom newspapers as proof that **British Terms Unacceptable.** Mr. Field's determination had weakened. That we do not believe, for his basic policy on independence commands unanimous support in his party and overwhelming assent among the electorate in general. On May 18 he wrote to Mr. Butler: "Agreement between us on the independence issue is indispensable to our co-operation in the dissolution exercise. I cannot depart from this stand. I recognize, however, that it may be expecting too much to settle before the conference all the terms on which independence is to be granted down to the last detail. Nevertheless, I think it should be possible in the time at our disposal to reach agreement on the essential points and to complete the others at no distant date. If unhappily this should turn out to be impossible and if complete deadlock is reached, then I feel bound to say that our attendance at the conference would serve no useful purpose". A fortnight ago he gave Mr. Butler the further warning that the British Government's terms for independence "are unacceptable to my Government". From that decision Mr. Field will not retreat. He is certain to repeat to Mr. Butler that the Constitution was devised by H.M. Government, was accepted by the African nationalist leaders who attended the Southern Rhodesian constitutional conference, was repudiated by them only when they were later intimidated by extremist elements within and without the country, and that opposition has since been organized by other African, Asian, and Western politicians, all of them unappeasable but nevertheless offered more appeasement by Britain. Southern Rhodesia, to quote Mr. Field's words, has not departed one iota from the determination to achieve independence. Unless that be recognized, his delegation, and consequently that of the Federal Government, may yet withdraw from the conference.

* * *

This Dissolution Conference will not justify its name. Even if all the Governments continue to participate, all that it can do is to decide on some broad questions and set up a series of **Federation Never Given Fair Chance.** commissions or committees to examine specific aspects of the highly complicated consequences of the abandonment by a spineless Government in Britain of a Federation which has never been given a fair chance. Some powers now exercised by the Federal Government will revert to the territorial authorities, some

need to be entrusted to inter-territorial control, and some will doubtless disappear. Sharp disputes are inevitable about the fate of some of the functions, and since the conference will have deplorably scanty guidance there will be disillusion before there can be any question of dissolution. Though Mr. Butler has been pondering the destruction of the Federation for a year and a half, and has sent experts of his own choosing to Central Africa partly to waste time and partly to examine certain problems, neither he nor anyone else has yet a clear picture of what may be done. There is not even agreement on the total of the Federal debt, let alone acceptance of a basis for fair division of the burden between the territories and British taxpayers—who will be called on once more to pay heavily for the febleness and folly of the politicians whom they have

allowed to wreck a structure which would have immensely benefitted millions of Africans, to say nothing of the European residents and European enterprise. Within the next ten days arrangements must be made to examine the problems of debt, defence, customs, currency, communications, power, research and other questions, any of which may arouse racial feelings, and so inflame genuine differences on other grounds. When the commissions or committees report we shall see whether H.M. Government has insisted on the retention of many of the undeniable advantages of federation or whether it has again decreed destruction. Because Mr. Butler exceeded his powers months ago and promised Nyasaland the right of secession, its Government is to be represented only by observers.

Why S. Rhodesia Will Attend Victoria Falls Conference

Mr. Winston Field's Report to His Parliament on Negotiations with H.M. Government*

MR. BUTLER was left with the unenviable task of liquidating the last outposts of British administration in Africa and had to do the best he could with things as he found them. When one thinks of the number of Secretaries of State who have had a hand in our affairs and those of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, it is not surprising there has been a lack of consistency, a lack of purpose.

There have been a number of new Constitutions for these two northern territories, each following on the one before with little time allowed to see if any one worked, and each bearing the personal touch of its author. It was inevitable that with these constant changes doubts as to the Federation's future should arise.

Sad Story

The next chapter in this sad story was the invitation issued by the First Secretary of State to the Federal Government, the Northern Rhodesian Government, and ourselves to go to London for talks with the British Government on the future of the Federation, or, rather, the future association of the two Rhodesias now that Nyasaland's secession had been decided upon and accepted in principle.

The discussions were to be held separately, starting with talks between the British Government and the Government of Southern Rhodesia to begin in London on March 21. However, I made it clear that insofar as we were concerned we wished our stay in London to overlap with that of the Federal Government, who were to have their talks after those between the Northern Rhodesian Government and Mr. Butler—which followed ours. The general story of those discussions and their sorry conclusion is too well known for it to be necessary for me to recapitulate.

We made two things clear to the First Secretary here

in January and in London in March: that should the two northern territories secede, we considered that Southern Rhodesia would be entitled to her independence within the Commonwealth—that independence which we would have had in 1955 had Southern Rhodesia not voted in 1952 to become part of the proposed Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland which was formed in 1953.

The other point was that we had no desire to secede.

When I first brought up this matter in January Mr. Butler replied that Southern Rhodesia was virtually independent already, but that the grant of our sovereign independence would be very difficult unless major concessions were made in the franchise and on the representation of the people as a whole. Thus we knew in very general terms what the feeling of the British Government was even at this early stage.

My reply was that I was most surprised at this attitude when we had just accepted and were just beginning to operate under a new Constitution negotiated by the British Government and accepted by the House of Commons, and the principles of which were originally accepted by the African nationalists as well; and that we were not prepared to have yet another constitutional conference with all the attendant emotionalisms, referenda, and possibly, another election.

No Collusion

We also pointed out that we were committed to try to make the new Constitution work, and that our real task was to provide an atmosphere of peace and quiet so that we could get on with our real task of developing our country and so solve the problem of growing unemployment.

I wished our delegation to London in March to overlap with the Federal delegation because I have always considered that the two Governments should not try to work in watertight compartments, neither knowing what the other was thinking or doing. The overlap occurred, and we were able to have discussions on the decisions taken by the British Government. At no time was there collusion; decisions were reached by us and by us alone. The same, I am sure, applied to the Federal Government. Nonetheless, we have always felt that

*The Prime Minister made his speech on June 18. The report has been slightly abbreviated owing to pressure on our space.

friendly relations and those of trust were necessary with the Federal Government. We set out to establish these, and I want to say how appreciative we are that their response has been what it is.

The British Government's decision to end the Federation brought matters to a head, and we were then asked if Southern Rhodesia would attend a dissolution conference to be held as soon as possible.

We again raised the question of our independence, but the First Secretary gave it as his opinion that as we could not be independent until the Federation was dissolved, then why bother about it until this took place? We informed the First Secretary that, while we accepted his contention that we could not have our independence before dissolution, we wanted it then, did not accept that the terms could not be settled now, and could not commit ourselves to attend a dissolution conference unless we first had a guarantee of our independence.

At that time the First Secretary felt unable to agree to this order of things, and again talked of difficulties unless there was more representative government and so on—all the old arguments over again without any specific proposals. Also by this time had crept in another reason—that it was not practical to hasten the independence of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and that it would be very difficult to give us our independence first.

British Arguments Rejected

Such arguments we rejected—and with good reason: have we not been self-governing for 40 years, and the other territories one for a few months and the other not at all?

It was without any settlement being reached that we left London on March 30. The position then was that (1) the British Government had agreed to Northern Rhodesia's demand for secession, which meant dissolution of the Federation; (2) a commission had been appointed to excise Nyasaland; (3) Mr. Butler wished to call a dissolution conference to which he invited the Federal Government, the Northern Rhodesian Government and the Southern Rhodesian Government; and (4) we, supported by the Federal Government, stated our desire to discuss the terms and timing of our independence before the dissolution conference, to which the First Secretary said he could not agree.

Give and Take

Our right in principle to independence was not denied. Our reasons for this demand were several, one of the main ones being that we feared that attempts would be made to intrude the question of our independence into the dissolution conference; and this we could not tolerate. We considered it only right to try to get the matter settled beforehand.

However, we did agree on leaving London that the subject was not closed, and that both Governments would see what each could do to meet the other. The Minister of Justice stayed in London to press our case, and on his return home I had discussions with the Federal Government and the United Kingdom High Commissioner which resulted in the exchange of letters between the First Secretary and myself which you have before you.

As you will see, there was a certain amount of give and take, until eventually the First Secretary agreed to our formal request for talks on our independence before the dissolution conference.

We had first proposed that Mr. Butler should come out here, but finally welcomed his suggestion that we should go to London, as then there would be no possibility of mixing up the two lots of talks, and, secondly, to have the talks here might make it appear that we had given a prior commitment to attend the dissolution conference to follow immediately after.

U.K. Support for Rhodesia's Case

We found support for our cause in the United Kingdom at all levels; and the support from most shades of opinion in this country was shown by the numerous letters and telegrams I received whilst in Britain. These were very warming. Our case is so good that when discussing it on the radio or television, with the Press, or with anyone else, I found it possible without difficulty to deal with any of the objections raised. Some of my interviewers and questioners were not exactly biased in our favour—rather the reverse.

The purpose of our last visit to London was to discuss with the United Kingdom Government the terms of Southern Rhodesia's independence on dissolution of the Federation, and to make certain that this matter would not be discussed at any conference on dissolution. Our talks with the First Secretary were lengthy, and I saw Mr. Sandys, the Commonwealth Secretary, and other members of the British Cabinet.

I should be fully prepared for a verbatim account to be published at any time of all the discussions I had with anyone on our affairs while in London. Our case is so good, our demands so justified and so reasonable. Unfortunately, no

precise minutes were kept, and it would not be right to publish just our minutes of what occurred, accurate though these are.

We should make clear some of our reasons for placing such great importance on the attainment of our independence at the first possible date.

(1) After 40 years of successful self-government we are entitled to it.

(2) We must have charge of our external affairs.

(3) Only by being independent shall we end uncertainty, and so be able to proceed with our proper development and provide a secure field of investment.

(4) We must stop our affairs being debated in the House of Commons and being intruded into British party politics.

(5) Once we have our independence there will be no more appeals to the British Government to intervene in our domestic affairs.

Very Muddled Thinking

Generally speaking, we encountered little opposition to these five and other points. Further, the Minister of Justice found little difficulty in dealing with certain aspects raised regarding our new Constitution, such as a suggestion that we should bring the Declaration of Rights up to date; that there was now a more modern version. We pointed out that to start unnecessary tampering with this without just cause would merely sow distrust—in particular, of the British Government—and we could not consider it. There was some considerable discussion on the matters of a "certificate of urgency on the one hand and a state of emergency on the other".

The British appeared to be very muddled in their thinking on these items, and to be under the impression that they were in some way one and the same. Eventually we were able to show that both of these powers were necessary and that they were quite separate; that we hoped we would not have to use either except on the rarest of occasions.

Exact Trouble

A number of other details cropped up, including the working of the Constitutional Council. Again the Minister of Justice was able to satisfy the First Secretary that this council was working, and that Government was paying due regard to points in legislation and regulations that had been objected to by the council.

At about this point—and I am trying to keep to the timetable as matters were raised—Mr. Butler told us that he was proposing to introduce an enabling Bill to the Commons in July which would give the British Government powers to excise the two northern territories from the Federation by Order-in-Council and so end the Federation.

We suggested that he should include powers to grant independence to all three territories at the appropriate time, and so avoid the need to introduce three more Bills relating specifically to the independence of each territory. The British Government explained that this was not their customary practice but that they would consider this. After such consideration they informed us that for various reasons they felt this was not the right procedure.

It was at this stage that we were able to extract from the British Government exactly what it was that was causing such difficulty about our independence: that H.M. Government would find it most difficult to grant this unless we were to make certain changes in our new Constitution that would lead to more representative Government.

Not Prepared to Appear

We pointed out that this Constitution was negotiated by them for this very purpose and accepted as such. We were informed that there was opposition to our independence from members of the Commonwealth—particularly some of the new members, who, we know, are demanding that we introduce their system of one man, one vote, one party, one dictator before we get independence, and it was suggested that we might do something to satisfy these countries.

I replied that nothing would satisfy these people but the departure of all Europeans, and that we were not prepared to appear in this way, and I further pointed out that at the general election we had given an undertaking to try to make the new Constitution work both in the letter and in the spirit and that again I was surprised at such a suggestion from H.M. Government in view of the part they had played in that Constitution.

We told the First Secretary that this sort of appeasement never worked and never had in history and that we thought it very wrong to be asked to give more special seats when no real attempt had been made by African nationalists to take advantage of those already provided, in spite of the undertakings given by their representatives at the Constitutional Conference in Salisbury 18 months ago.

If one followed that procedure through to its logical end

clusion, then all the African nationalists need do was to ask for more special seats, get them, refuse to participate, and then ask for more until without any effort and training they had got the lot.

I must mention here that Mr. Butler had assured us all along that H.M. Government recognized our election pledges.

We were then informed that the older Commonwealth countries—Canada, Australia and New Zealand—would not be happy if we got our independence under our present Constitution, and that they felt that this should not come until there was more representative government. By strange coincidence, I then received communications from Sir Robert Menzies and the Governments of New Zealand and Canada saying in general terms that they hoped we would move in the direction regarding the franchise where the African had the same rights as the European. In one case it was suggested that "the goal towards which all communities should strive is equality of status amongst all its citizens".

High Commissioners Astonishingly Ignorant

I found myself resenting this interference in our affairs, but on reflection realized that these very senior members of the Commonwealth were probably genuinely concerned about the future of the Commonwealth and the possibility that Southern Rhodesia might be the rock on which the Commonwealth might founder.

I made it my business to talk over our affairs with the High Commissioners, and found them astonishingly ignorant of our affairs. I did my best to explain how wrong their countries were—that Africans had the same franchise rights as anyone else, and that people had equality of status here.

I took the opportunity to invite these countries to send a Minister or anyone else they liked to visit Southern Rhodesia as our guest, so that they could see for themselves how things were out here.

Further, we have prepared a memorandum explaining affairs out here which we are now sending to all the countries of the Commonwealth with an explanatory letter from myself. I hope that when current problems are solved regarding the Federation we shall be able to send Ministers to the older Commonwealth countries at least so that they put over Southern Rhodesia's case at top level. I hope we have had some effect on the three senior members of the Commonwealth to which I have referred and whose opinions we value.

The Minister of Internal Affairs will call on the High Commissioners in London and will I hope meet Sir Robert Menzies.

So it appeared as the discussions went on that there was no real case against our demand for independence—only that it would be difficult to get it through the House of Commons and difficult to get the approval of the countries of the Commonwealth.

Regarding the first, we found a great deal of support, as I have said, and I believe that if the British Government was determined to put a Bill through their Parliament giving us our independence on dissolution they could do so.

Interference Resented

As to the second, I made the point again and again that I considered this a matter for the British Government and ourselves and not the concern of the Prime Minister of Uganda, the President of Tanganyika, or anyone else.

It is strange how these new countries like to give advice to other more established countries instead of applying themselves to learning their own jobs and to their so necessary development. These same countries are by sheer weight of numbers seeking to direct the United Nations Organization to interfere in the affairs of countries like ours—and in contravention of that body's charter.

Is it not also strange that a member of the Commonwealth, Uganda, should offer itself at Addis Ababa as a base from which to mount war on another member of the Commonwealth, and that this should pass without comment from the United Nations Organization and the Commonwealth?

Repeated: "No U.K. Intervention"

I stressed that there is no machinery for turning us out of the Commonwealth, and that it would be an extraordinary situation if one day Great Britain suddenly told us that our special relationship with her and the Crown was now ended, and that the most loyal part of the Old Empire was now a foreign country with no trade preference.

Yes, we were reminded of that preference and in this connexion it is interesting to note even that when the Republic of South Africa saw fit to withdraw her application to rejoin the Commonwealth, the United Kingdom immediately took steps to retain a special trade and other relationship with that country, and rightly too. I felt a deep resentment at this sort of argument.

Certain other matters, such as the petition and the Enabling Act arose and were discussed, and we were assured again

and again that the British Government could not and would not intervene in our affairs.

We were told how effectively the British Government had dealt with the committee of the United Nations which was in London recently to make representations about Southern Rhodesia, and the so-called "explosive situation" here in what is today one of the most relaxed countries in Africa. We know what happened at all those meetings, as we had an observer present. Mr. Butler, Mr. Sandys and Lord Home did tell this committee that they could not and would not interfere in our affairs; they can only influence and persuade.

Did this make the slightest impression on U.N.O.? None. These gentlemen are back at the United Nations ranting against us once more.

Again, the suggestion of a commissioner cropped up to take over from the Federal Government. We rejected this. We willingly handed over certain functions to the Federal Government, and when that ceases to exist these functions—all of them—must come back to us.

It became obvious to us that the British Government were not prepared to give way on their requirements that Southern Rhodesia must be prepared to amend the franchise—that is, provide for more African representation by increasing "B" roll seats and lowering the standards for the "A" roll; and all this in the name of expediency.

We in our turn are pledged to try to give the new Constitution a fair trial and to try and make it work. We are prepared to consider changes in the "B" roll franchise—to simplify it all so that all and sundry understand the system under which they are voting. This we made clear to Mr. Butler.

Nothing Specific

At no time did Mr. Butler make any specific proposals—as was suggested in the Press here during our talks—and at no time has an ultimatum been presented. The discussions were carried on in an atmosphere of complete calm, and no emotion was displayed or tempers lost. We did not succeed in getting all we wanted, but I do not regret having had these talks; the air is much clearer now and we know where we are.

We had taken the stand that we must have discussions on our independence before the dissolution conference, and eventually the British Government met us on this. This has brought the British Government's ideas into the open for the first time. We know now what has to be done regarding the older Commonwealth countries insofar as correcting the misapprehensions about Southern Rhodesia that exist there is concerned.

We have had repeated assurances in writing and by word that H.M. Government cannot and will not interfere in our affairs, and we in turn have informed the British Government that we would not recognize such interference.

U.K. Hesitation Based on Expediency

I believe that we have proved that there are no moral grounds on which we can be refused our proper status, and we know now that the hesitation is purely on grounds of expediency.

It has become obvious that we have to spend more time in putting over our case, and in the meantime we have had to make up our minds whether we are justified in refusing to attend a conference on dissolution of the Federation when the British Government has come a long way to meet us in our request. The British Government is determined to hold this conference, and it is in the interests of all the Governments that we get on with this unpleasant task as soon as possible.

Delay will only endanger our relations with the other Governments and cause bitterness; and there is too much of that abroad already.

In view of this I believe that it would be irresponsible for us not to attend a conference at which matters of vital concern to Southern Rhodesia will be discussed. We therefore informed the First Secretary of State that we wished to know what the agenda was to be, as we would not take part in a conference of the farcical nature of the one held at Lancaster House two and a half years ago. Our domestic affairs must not be discussed, nor those of any other territory for that matter.

I shall be meeting the First Secretary of State at the Falls prior to the conference, and Southern Rhodesia will be attending that conference for the reasons given.

At the same time, I must make it clear that we have not departed one iota from our determination to achieve our independence. I stressed on several occasions to the First Secretary and others that, while our independence and its terms were just an incident in the political life of the British Government, to us this meant our very survival as a progressive, economically viable, and democratic country.

Correspondence Between U.K. and S. Rhodesian Governments

Mr. Winston Field's Insistence on Independence for the Colony

CORRESPONDENCE between the Governments of the United Kingdom and Southern Rhodesia has been published as a White Paper (Cmd. 2073, H.M. Stationery Office, 1s. 3d.).

The first three pages contain letters already published—one of March 29 from Mr. Winston Field, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, and a reply of April 9 from Mr. Butler, First Secretary of State and Minister for Central African Affairs.

Then, follows a letter of April 20 from Mr. Field, reading:—

"MY DEAR FIRST SECRETARY OF STATE.—Thank you for your letter of April 9, which Mr. Dupont delivered to me when he got back to Salisbury on April 10. I also received a copy the same day from Lord Alport, the United Kingdom High Commissioner in Salisbury.

"My Ministers and I have been giving very careful consideration to this letter, and although we issued a Press statement on the occasion of its publication, along with my letter of March 29, we feel that it is necessary, in view of the importance of the issues, to comment at some length on the various points you make.

"None of our friends who visit this country appreciate better than you do what has been achieved here under sound government administration, and what there is to be preserved in the interests of civilization. This achievement is due entirely to the efforts of the people of this country over the last 40 years, during which time the Government has exercised self-government in all its internal affairs. Initially the achievement is due to the Europeans, who still bear the main burden of taxation and are the principal support of the economy; but slowly, and increasingly, it is due also to the other groups who live in this country, namely the Africans, the Asians, and the Coloured people.

Never Under Whitehall Control

"It may be unnecessary to remind you that Southern Rhodesia is not, and never has been, a dependency in the sense that it has relied for its administration and finance on the United Kingdom Government. It was a Colony occupied by people who voluntarily came here mainly from the Commonwealth countries, and at no time has it been directly under the control of Whitehall.

"Europeans resident in Rhodesia over the years have accumulated the balance of the capital resources of the country. Investment in agriculture is substantial, and has been accumulated as the result of the ploughing-back of profits into development over a long period of years. Many of our mines, industries, shops and commercial establishments have been built up and developed by the same method. The relatively high development of the economy has been largely due to European immigrants who have made their homes here. Over a long period of years the savings of Rhodesians over two or three generations who plough the greater part of their profits back into their businesses rather than invest them abroad have played a large part in capital development.

All Requirements Fulfilled

"I am recalling these facts to remind us that Southern Rhodesia has since 1923 fulfilled all the requirements for Commonwealth status. It has financed its own development, taxed itself, and paid its way. It has looked after its own defence, and has contributed money and men to the defence of the Commonwealth and Western civilization; and, finally, it has successfully operated a democratic Parliamentary form of Government.

"This record, we claim, more than fulfils the requirements of any normal process to independence, and it obviates without question any need for a conference to deal specifically with the principle of independence for Southern Rhodesia.

"In your letter you refer to the need for Southern Rhodesia to go through 'normal processes' to independence. As I have shown, Southern Rhodesia has already gone through these processes. Your letter in no way gives us the assurance or guarantee that we asked for, that Southern Rhodesia will be given its right to full independence on the first date when

either Northern Rhodesia or Nyasaland secedes from the Federation or obtains its independence.

"We recognize the desirability—since the United Kingdom Government has given a unilateral decision to the elected Ministers in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia on the question of secession—of discussions between the territories on the broad lines of a future relationship and on the transitional arrangements. We cannot, however, accept the contention that the unqualified recognition of Southern Rhodesia's right to independence must be delayed pending the conclusion of these discussions.

"It is surely self-evident that an undertaking from the United Kingdom Government that Southern Rhodesia will get its independence under the circumstances we have requested has no valid connexion with the discussions or arrangements which remain to be considered or concluded between Southern Rhodesia and the other territories of the Federation. It would be quite unjustifiable, in our view, to delay the recognition of Southern Rhodesia's unqualified right to independence pending the holding of a conference which will, by the nature of things, be confined to a consideration of economic links between the territories.

Legal Advice of No Practical Significance

"With the principle of secession admitted for all territories of the Federation, there surely can be no longer any bar to the grant to all of them of the independence which they expect and look forward to. I would suggest, with respect, that your legal advice that it would not in any event be possible to make Southern Rhodesia an independent country in the full sense of the word while remaining a member of the non-independent Federation has no practical significance, since your decision has been taken in principle to do away with the existing Federation. What we have asked for is that Southern Rhodesia should receive unqualified recognition of its right to full independence as soon as that Federation is terminated by the secession of, or the grant of independence to, one of the other partners in the Federation.

"On the subject of the break-up of the Federation, we cannot accept your proposition that the United Kingdom Parliament has power to legislate with regard to the Federation and so, indirectly, with regard to Southern Rhodesia. With respect, you must have overlooked the joint declaration of April 28, 1957, made by the United Kingdom and Federal Governments, in which the following statement was made: 'United Kingdom Ministers made it clear that the United Kingdom Government recognize the existence of a convention applicable to the present stage of the constitutional evolution of the Federation whereby the United Kingdom Government, in practice, does not initiate any legislation to amend or to repeal any Federal Act, or to deal with any matter included within the competence of the Federal Legislature, except at the request of the Federal Government.'

"The convention here formally recognized is binding as is the convention specifically relating to Southern Rhodesia which you quote in your letter.

Strong Disagreement With U.K. Contention

"I find some contradiction between the United Kingdom Government's acceptance of the principle of secession for the territories within the existing Federation and its insistence that discussions on the broad lines of a future relationship should be held before any such secession is implemented.

"In view of what has happened to the present Federation, it is quite unrealistic to think that in present-day circumstances any form of association here will be lasting unless it is freely entered into by territories each of which has complete control of its own affairs. It is a fact, which the United Kingdom Government must now accept, that any form of association imposed by it on any of the component parts of Central Africa will have no durability. The only association likely to endure is one acceptable to the territories; and that can come about only when they are able to commit themselves without direction from the United Kingdom Government in the secure anticipation of their own independence.

"Therefore, I must point out that we strongly disagree with the contention of the United Kingdom Government that it is only when these discussions have taken place that the future course of events can be clarified. The course of events must be anticipated now. The decision on the next step rests squarely with the United Kingdom Government; and that step is the recognition in an unambiguous manner of our right to independence, without conditions or qualifications, before we come to the conference table.

"You go on to say that the United Kingdom Government, in accordance with normal procedure and before granting independence to Southern Rhodesia, would expect to convene a conference to discuss the financial, defence, constitutional, and 'other matters' which always have to be settled before self-governing dependencies are granted independence. Apart from the fact that I have already shown that Southern Rhodesia is not a dependency, and never has been, I think this procedure is quite inappropriate for a self-governing country of Southern Rhodesia's status.

"If it is analysed closely, your suggestion amounts to a proposal to hold a constitutional conference, a proceeding which we could no longer accept. Southern Rhodesia, as I must repeat, has over the years been entirely responsible for its own financial affairs, and has never received any financial help or contribution from the United Kingdom Government other than loan moneys. In defence, it exercised unfettered control from 1923 to 1953, and since 1953 the Federal Government has continued this unfettered control over defence matters for the Federation. In the new 1961 Constitution, Southern Rhodesia has the right to legislate with extra-territorial effect, and this enhances its right over subjects, like defence of our country against external aggression, which must revert to Southern Rhodesia when the Federation ceases to exist.

No Further "Normal Processes"

"When the Federation does come to an end on the secession of either Northern Rhodesia or Nyasaland, the functions and powers formerly exercised by the Southern Rhodesia Government before entry into Federation will revert to Southern Rhodesia in as full a degree as they existed before that time, and, in fact, in a fuller degree, in so far as they will now be operated under the 1961 Constitution, whereby the United Kingdom Government's reserve powers have been eliminated except for certain formal items. The 1961 Constitution was accepted by the United Kingdom Government and the United Kingdom Parliament as containing everything that they considered to be requisite, or desirable, for protecting the rights of the peoples and communities who have a right to live in the country.

"You go on to say that the limited form of independence from the United Kingdom which Southern Rhodesia enjoys while Federation remains in existence cannot be improved from our point of view, pending the granting of full independence. It seems to us that this claim is a direct contradiction of your earlier statements that Southern Rhodesia, like the other territories, must proceed through the normal processes to independence, and that Southern Rhodesia may only expect to be in the constitutional position to move to independence after further discussions on future relationships with Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland have been held. Surely your reference to this limited form of independence is an admission that Southern Rhodesia is practically independent already, and that there can be no further 'normal processes'.

U.K. Cannot Change 1961 Constitution

"I would go even further, and maintain that with the combination of the 1961 Constitution—which confers wide powers for amending that Constitution on Southern Rhodesia—and the convention to which you refer, it is not possible for the United Kingdom Government to initiate any changes in the 1961 Constitution. In our opinion, the next step is for the United Kingdom Government to pass through its Parliament an Independence Act to provide that from an appointed day the United Kingdom Government would have no responsibility for the Government of Southern Rhodesia; that no Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, passed on or after that day shall extend or be deemed to extend to Southern Rhodesia as part of its law; and that the Colonial Laws Validity Act, 1865, shall not apply to any law made after the appointed day by the Parliament of Southern Rhodesia.

"With further reference to the 'other matters' mentioned in your letter which would have to be settled at a conference on independence, I cannot visualize what matters you have in mind, for the 1961 Constitution contains ample safeguards against amendments to the Constitution contrary to the wishes of any groups of the country's inhabitants and ample safeguards against racial and other forms of discrimination. There can be no question of the United Kingdom Government requiring, as a condition precedent to the grant of independence, constitutional changes in the franchise law or in the law relating to representation in Parliament, because these matters were fully examined and settled at the constitutional conference of February, 1961.

"I must once again repeat that the Southern Rhodesia Government insists upon the principle of its independence being agreed to before the process of breaking up the Federation is put in hand officially. This is essential, in order to prevent interference with and discussion of Southern Rhodesia's internal affairs at any conference that the United Kingdom Government may succeed in arranging to discuss future

relationships between the territories. Southern Rhodesia was a high contracting party to the creation of the Federation, comprising the three component States, and her consent is necessary to any change in the original concept of a three-State Federation.

"We cannot agree with the contention that the secession of one member of the Federation will not in itself end Southern Rhodesia's membership of the Federation. It is surely obvious that if one member's secession is effected by United Kingdom legislation the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland will have ceased to exist. If the two Rhodesias are to remain linked in some way it cannot be under the present form of Federation. But this is an academic point in today's circumstances, because it is obvious that the elected Ministers in Northern Rhodesia—no less than those in Nyasaland—are quite determined to exercise the right which the United Kingdom Government has now recognized for the secession of the territories. When Northern Rhodesia has taken this step Southern Rhodesia is left in isolation.

Undertaking in Writing

"In such circumstances it is nothing less than our duty as a Government that we should look to the interests of our country; and since we have reached such an advanced stage of independence in our own affairs, that we must adhere to our position, which was set out in my letter of March 29, that the Southern Rhodesia Government will not attend a conference to discuss the broad outlines of a future relationship between the territories, or the transitional arrangements that will be required to be made, unless it receives in writing from the United Kingdom Government an acceptable undertaking that Southern Rhodesia will receive its full independence on the first date when either Northern Rhodesia or Nyasaland secedes or obtains its independence.

"You may rest assured that, as soon as the United Kingdom Government gives such an undertaking, it will receive from the Southern Rhodesia Government the closest possible co-operation in endeavouring to achieve an acceptable and durable relationship between the territories and the United Kingdom Government and in the consequential transitional arrangements.

"Unfortunately your proposals suggest nothing that will promote a speedy end to the uncertainty that has been and still is bedevilling the affairs of Southern Rhodesia both politically and economically, with serious repercussions to the well-being and progress of all our people. Rather does it appear to be the intention of the United Kingdom Government to prolong, and thereby aggravate, this uncertainty. There may indeed be some reasons why this approach suits the United Kingdom Government, perhaps internally, perhaps internationally, or perhaps both, but delay now is entirely wrong and greatly to the present and future detriment of Central Africa and all its peoples.

"I therefore request that you make known to us your Government's decision at the earliest possible date."

Mr. Butler's Reply

Mr. Butler's reply, dated May 2, said:—

"DEAR PRIME MINISTER.—Thank you for your letter of April 20, to which my colleagues and I have given the closest consideration. I much appreciate the care which you have taken to set out your views so fully and so frankly. This has been of great assistance to us, and I know that you would wish me to reply to your letter in the same spirit.

"You were kind enough to say that I would be in a position to appreciate the achievements of Southern Rhodesia over the past 40 years. I am glad to have this opportunity of affirming our recognition of what has been achieved by the people of Southern Rhodesia in the development of their country, and of acknowledging the contribution made by Southern Rhodesia in men and money to the defence of the Commonwealth. In framing this reply, we have, of course, taken into account the achievements of the different races to which you refer as well as the special characteristics of the relationship between Southern Rhodesia and the United Kingdom.

"In my letter of April 9 I affirmed the Government's acceptance in principle that Southern Rhodesia will proceed through the normal processes to independence, and we have never suggested that a conference was necessary to agree the principle of independence. Nevertheless, before independence is granted in practice to any country there are inevitably a number of matters of mutual interest which have to be considered and discussed if the transfer of sovereignty on the grant of independence is to be effected in an orderly and proper manner. In the case of Southern Rhodesia this is what I had in mind when I referred to normal processes.

(Continued on page 923)

Publish Proposals, Says Opposition

Nine Europeans in Ten Want Independence

SIR EDGAR WHITEHEAD, Leader of the Opposition, complained that the Prime Minister had omitted to tell the House the British Government's terms. He could believe that they were unacceptable to the Southern Rhodesian Government, but "we are not in a position to say whether we agree or whether we feel that the conditions could form a basis for further negotiations.

"The majority of people in this country are anxious to get a final settlement, and if these terms are the least bit reasonable both the House and the public have the right to know them. There is such a great need for unity among our own people and a need for good relations with our northern neighbours that we cannot simply say the terms put forward are unacceptable without letting the public see them."

Immediate independence was favoured by 90% of the Europeans, "but I have found complete fear on the part of non-Europeans that, if independence is granted and there are no changes in the present Constitution, it might happen that changes take place to bring Southern Rhodesia into line on racial policy with South Africa."

Economic Disasters Might Be Appalling

Division of the Victoria Falls Conference into separate discussions on the Federal dissolution and the retention of economic links would be impractical because those matters were so closely inter-related. The danger of economic disaster to the Colony was plain to see.

"If there is a complete breach between the two former partners and they elect to join the new East African Federation and build a railway to Tanganyika, the economic disasters to both the Rhodesias would be appalling and beyond thought. One of the political parties in Northern Rhodesia put in its election programme a map of a new railway route to Tanganyika; negotiations have been proceeding for some time regarding the construction of the line."

Southern Rhodesia should take the initiative in trying to preserve some of the economic benefits that had accrued from Federation. That should not be left to H.M. Government.

The best method would be for non-political working parties to take the various services one by one and offer advice on how to preserve them for the benefit of both Rhodesias. It had paid in the past to submit one's own plans to Britain and other interested parties as a basis for discussion; the new Constitution was a case in point. In working for such arrangements, the Government would be immensely strengthened if it had adequate African representation.

A private conference—without U.K. representation—might be advantageous for thrashing out such matters as the franchise and discrimination, neither of which required constitutional alterations, before asking again for full independence.

Need to Create Inter-Racial Unity

Thus, "when the time comes to get independence, we may get it as a completely united people; so that practically every section of our people is enthusiastic; so that when the time comes for celebrations everybody in this country will join in as a common achievement, not as something snatched by one section of the people against the wishes of the other section."

Sir Edgar afterwards called a Press conference at which he repeated his complaint that the country was ignorant of the full terms on which the Colony could achieve independence.

From the information available it seemed that no amendments to the Constitution would be necessary. Everything could be decided in Parliament, either by a simple majority or by a two-thirds majority vote. "That does not mean that I am prepared to accept any terms," he emphasized.

The presence of Africans in negotiations for independence and future links with the north, would be indispensable. He would not object to Mr. Joshua Nkomo, the former leader of Z.A.P.U. (banned under Sir Edgar's premiership) attending such discussions.

It was for the present Government to take the initiative in suggesting a National Front Government. No such proposals had yet been made.

Asked about the Government's community development programme, Sir Edgar Whitehead commented that it might be the thin end of the wedge of *apartheid*, but could well be completely non-racial.

Our issue of June 6 quoted under the heading "Black Marketeers in U.N. Forces: Boatloads of Loot from Katanga" a letter written to the *Daily Telegraph*, the writer of which has now withdrawn all his allegations.

Delegations for Victoria Falls

Mr. Kaunda Outlines His Requirements

THE BRITISH DELEGATION to the Victoria Falls Conference arrived at Livingstone yesterday. It is led by the Minister for Central African Affairs, Mr. R. A. Butler, who is accompanied by the Secretary at the Central African Office, Mr. D. Tennant, the assistant secretary, Mr. N. D. Watson, and other officials.

The United Kingdom party will be joined by Mr. D. A. Scott, Acting High Commissioner in the Federation, and Sir George Curtis, who is investigating the effects on Nyasaland of the dissolution of the Federation.

Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister, leads the Federal Government team, consisting of Sir Malcolm Barrow, Minister of Economic Affairs, Defence and Power; Mr. Julian Greenfield, Minister of Law and Home Affairs; Mr. J. Caldicott, Finance Minister; and Messrs. Godwin Lewanika and Chad Chipunza, Parliamentary Secretaries for External Affairs.

Mr. Winston Field, the Prime Minister, heads the Southern Rhodesian delegation, whose other members are Mr. Clifford Dupont, Minister of Justice, Law and Order; Mr. D. Smith, Minister of the Treasury; Mr. W. Harper, Minister of Roads; and Mr. H. Reedman, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of the Public Service.

Official advisers to the group will be the Treasury Secretary, Mr. C. E. M. Greenfield; the chairman of the Public Service Board, Mr. H. M. MacKenzie; the secretary to the Prime Minister and the Cabinet, Mr. G. B. Clarke; the Attorney-General, Mr. T. A. T. Bosman; and the Deputy Secretary to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Mr. W. H. Nicolle.

The Northern Rhodesian delegation consists of the Governor, Sir Evelyn Hone; Mr. R. E. Luyt, the Chief Secretary; Mr. K. D. Kaunda, Minister of Local Government and Social Welfare; Mr. H. M. Nkumbula, Minister of African Education; Mr. B. A. Doyle, Q.C., Minister of Legal Affairs; Mr. T. C. Gardner, Minister of Finance; Mr. C. E. Cousins, Minister of Land and Natural Resources; Mr. R. Kamanga, Minister of Labour and Mines; Mr. J. Banda, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of African Education; Mr. E. M. Liso, Parliamentary Secretary to the Chief Secretary; Mr. E. H. K. Mudenda, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of African Agriculture; and Mr. A. N. L. Wina, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Finance.

Nyasaland will send only observers.

Agreement Expected

Mr. Kaunda said at the week-end that he expected to leave the conference with an agreement with Southern Rhodesia on joint ownership of the Kariba hydro-electric scheme, Rhodesia Railways and Central African Airways. He would, however, have nothing to do with the Bank of Rhodesia and Nyasaland nor with a joint postal service. Agreement on the first three items would be subject to certain conditions. For C.A.A. there would have to be a ban on that airline's flights to South Africa and the Portuguese territories, and it would also have to open a large base in Northern Rhodesia and provide training for African pilots.

By next June Mr. Kaunda expected to be Prime Minister of an independent Northern Rhodesia within the Commonwealth. The country would change its name to Zambia, introduce its own currency, increase Africanization of the police, and "begin nudging Southern Rhodesia along the road towards majority government, with an economic squeeze as the first persuader should one be necessary."

Mr. Butler is to be chairman of the Victoria Falls Conference, which is due to open tomorrow. During the past two days he has had meetings with Southern Rhodesian delegates.

"Stupid" Missionaries

"STUPID" MISSIONARIES will be "chased out" of Nyasaland if they preach politics from the pulpit, the Prime Minister, Dr. Banda, warned on Saturday, referring especially to Dutch Reformed Church missionaries. "Don't let them tell you you won't go to Heaven if you are in the Malawi Party," he told pupils at Dedza.

Pessimists About Kenya Have The Better Case, Says Mr. Gichuru

But the Country May Be "On Threshold of A Boom"

EXPENDITURE OF £40,960,000 and a development budget of £14.1m. have been announced in the National Assembly of Kenya by the Minister for Finance and Economic Planning, Mr. J. S. Gichuru. From his budget speech we quote the following points.

Expenditure for the current year at £37½m. was £1m. more than the original estimate, due mainly to the need to continue famine and flood relief measures on a greater scale than had been expected, a rise in the prison population, an extension of the limited compensation scheme, and the heavy cost of the elections.

"Fortunately there will be an even greater increase in revenue over the original estimate of £16.1m. mainly due to higher receipts from customs and excise during the last four months of the financial year. At the end of the first six months of the financial year only £7.7m.—or considerably less than half the estimate—had been paid into the Exchequer. We were on target by the end of February and have gone ahead since then, particularly in April, when increased duties were announced on motor-cars and textiles.

"The increases in duties announced in the last budget have brought in additional revenue of approximately the amounts estimated, but there are exceptions. Increased duties on spirits were expected to bring in about £150,000 additional revenue in a full year, but during the first six months of the financial year the revenue from spirits was substantially less than in the previous year. This illustrates the need for caution in raising the duty on luxury items to a point at which the actual return decreases.

Deficits on Both Budgets

"The deficit on the year will be approximately £2m., as against the figure of £2.5m. on which the budget was based. About £1.3m. of this will be covered from assistance received from the British Government for famine and flood relief and rehabilitation measures.

"On development, we started the year with a deficit of £5.4m., but I hope that this will be brought down to about £5m. at June 30, 1963. Expenditure, except on settlement, has proceeded more or less according to plan.

"Expenditure on the general development programme is expected to total about £8.2m., very near the original estimate, but there has been a substantial shortfall on estimated expenditure on settlement; and in total will be about £11½m. as against the original estimate of £14.1m. However, very rapid progress is expected in 1963-64.

"The total gross domestic product increased by 8% in 1962, largely from higher output in the subsistence or non-monetary sector as a result of the return to normal from the disastrous weather conditions of 1961. The gross domestic product in the monetary sector increased by only 2%. Considered in relation to the increases in the population—now growing at 3% per annum—cash income per head must have fallen in 1962 even before taking into account the rise in prices.

Re-Think Cash Crops Policy

"Gross farm revenue from agriculture and livestock amounted to some £47m., of which £36m. was earned by the large farms and estates in the scheduled areas [the former White Highlands.—Ed.] and nearly £11m. in the non-scheduled areas. The increase of only 3% in production from the non-scheduled areas compares unfavourably with increases of the order of 10% in recent years. One of the main difficulties is the marketing of coffee and pyrethrum, the two crops on which our efforts in the African areas have been concentrated. We shall have to re-think our cash crops policy.

"Exports of almost £38m., an all-time record, were some 7½% above the 1961 figure. There were also increased sales of Kenya produce to Tanganyika and Uganda.

"Commercial imports rose by nearly £2m. or 3%. The gross product earned by the building and construction industry fell for the fifth successive year.

"Our prospects depend to a large degree on the level of capital expenditure, for it is investment now which leads to higher incomes in the future. It is therefore discouraging to note that the estimated capital expenditure of £33m. in 1962 remains well below the level of from £40m. to £46m. achieved during the period 1955-60.

"I could give instances of projects of a substantial scale that I believe will be started in 1963, but capital is a shy bird,

and information about where it is nesting may result in its flight. The eggs would then become addled and never hatch out. But I believe that substantial new investments will shortly be made.

"There was no real increase in national income per head in 1962. There was probably a fall. Unemployment increased. On the other hand, there is reason to hope that in 1963 there will be a rise in agricultural production and in the value of our exports of at least 5%.

"On the initiative of Tanganyika a report has been prepared by Mr. Blumenthal on the present monetary system and its future. It is a most valuable document, and gives us a sound basis on which to advance towards the creation of a Central Bank for East Africa. I am confident that it will prove possible to reach agreement on the setting up of a Central Bank which will maintain and enhance the status of our currency and also have a most important part to play in the development of East Africa.

Aid for Development

"In the 1963-64 development programme the total estimated expenditure is £14.1m., including £6.2m. for land and settlement schemes. The British Government will find £4.6m. and the remainder will come from the West German Government, the International Bank, and the Colonial Development Corporation.

"The general development programme amounts to a little less than £8m., of which £1.12m. will be needed to meet our first major repayment under the contractor-finance road scheme which has now been successfully completed, leaving £6.82m. for new expenditure, which is substantially less than in the current year. We have transferred £600,000 of expenditure, mainly on agricultural services, from the development to the recurrent budget. A further transfer of at least £300,000 will be necessary in 1964-65.

"£1,330,000 has been included for loans for land purchase and agricultural development. One encouraging feature in recent months has been the large number of transfers of land in the scheduled areas, financed in part with the assistance of the Land Bank. It has already approved loans which will assist in financing the purchase of over 200,000 acres by buyers of all races.

"Tea development is going ahead according to plan. Of the target of 11,000 acres, 90% will have been planted by mid-1964, and the necessary tea factories are being started. Finance is being sought for an additional 12,000 acres.

Funds from Many Sources

"A Kenya Development and Finance Company will be set up with a capital of £1½m. We believe that we shall shortly negotiate the necessary agreement under which £500,000 will be made available by the West German Government, £500,000 by the C.D.C., and £500,000 by our own Industrial Development Corporation.

"The educational programme lays stress on the provision of more secondary school classes in African schools. By 1964 places will have been provided for over 12,000 pupils, more than double the 1960 enrolment.

"Towards the basic programme of nearly £8m., finance has been negotiated from the British Government totalling £5.1m. A further £635,000 of loan funds will be obtained from the West German Government and £276,000 from the International Bank. Some £350,000 in grant funds will, it is expected, be obtained from the U.S. Government. The gap to be filled is a little over £1m., and to meet part of this I propose to allocate to the development exchequer our share of Currency Board profits of about £350,000.

"We hope to negotiate finance for projects outside the plan, the largest one being for the raising of the Sasumua Dam which, provided there are no more landslides, will secure Nairobi's water supply needs for a number of years.

"It takes over a year from the time a project begins to be discussed with an overseas international body before all the necessary negotiations can be finalized and any money drawn. I am not criticizing the overseas Governments or agencies, from whom we have received the fullest help and co-operation but the demands for aid from many countries greatly exceed the supply of available capital, and these Governments and agencies rightly insist on being fully satisfied on the soundness of a particular project before they agree to provide finance for it.

"Our success in obtaining money for development will depend largely on our ability to prepare and process detailed

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PERSONALIA

EARL DE LA WARR was 63 last Thursday.

MR. FENNER BROCKWAY, M.P., has just finished writing a book on African Socialism.

SIR ALBERT ROBINSON was last week the guest at dinner of the United and Cecil Club.

MR. W. A. DU BUISSON has been elected deputy chairman of the West India Committee.

MR. C. K. LÜBEMBE has been appointed Leader of Government Business in the Kenya Senate.

DR. I. W. MACKICHEN, Director of Medical Services in Zanzibar, will retire when his home leave ends in July.

The new POPE spent three days in Southern Rhodesia last year visiting priests and nuns from Milan, his diocese.

MR. V. WHITEHEAD has joined the London Committee of Falcon Mines, Ltd., following the resignation of MR. H. R. MITCHELL.

MR. F. FURNISS, Director of Civil Aviation in East Africa, is about to leave for Nigeria, where he is to become Secretary for Air.

MR. BRUCE MCKENZIE, Kenya's Minister of Agriculture, has announced that trade delegations are to visit Iron Curtain countries.

THE REV. W. H. A. BUTLER, former Archdeacon of Busoga, Uganda, has been appointed rector of Little Shelford with Newton, Cambridge.

A farewell dinner for the FEDERAL HIGH COMMISSIONER and LADY ROBINSON is to be given on Wednesday next by the Chartered Company.

MR. RAYMOND E. SNOWSELL, principal of the Citizenship and Leadership Training College at Kurra Falls, Nigeria, is visiting the Federation.

MR. M. J. LAMB, Deputy High Commissioner in London for the Federation, is to act as High Commissioner on the retirement of SIR ALBERT ROBINSON at the end of July.

SHEIKH OTHMAN SHARIEF, Leader of the Opposition in Zanzibar, created a record for the Legislative Council by speaking for six hours in a debate, one on the Constitutional Bill.

SIR GEOFFREY DE FREITAS, who served in the R.A.F. in East Africa during the war, and is now United Kingdom High Commissioner in Ghana, left London yesterday to return to Accra.

MWALIMU NYERERE, President of the Republic, presented the President's Colour and Regimental Colour to the 1st Bn. The Tanganyika Rifles at Colito Barracks, Dar es Salaam, last Thursday.

Leaflets headed "U.N.I.P. Youth League" have been circulating in Lusaka for some days calling for the resignation of the party leader, MR. KAUNDA, and his replacement by MR. KAPWEPWE.

MR. EDWARD HOLLOWAY, for many years honorary secretary of the Economic Research Council, who recently visited Southern Rhodesia, was last night the guest of that organization at dinner.

ALDERMAN CHARLES RUBIA, mayor of Nairobi, and the first African to hold the office, has appealed to the public to help solve the serious problem of begging in the city by refraining from giving alms.

While retaining his chairmanship of the George Cohen 600 Group, Ltd., which has an East African subsidiary, MR. CYRIL M. COHEN has resigned the managing directorship in favour of MR. JACK A. WELLISON.

MR. GUY HUNTER, author of "The New Societies of Tropical Africa", who recently wrote two reports on East African man-power requirements, is now in South East Asia in connexion with a similar man-power survey.

SIR FRANK LEE, Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, who was closely concerned with the Tanganyika groundnut scheme while a senior official of the Ministry of Food, has been appointed a trustee of the *Economist*.

LORD BOYD, LORD LISTOWEL, LORD MILVERTON, LORD OGMORE, LORD SWINTON, SIR FRANK BADDELEY and MR. JOHN TILNEY, M.P., have been elected honorary vice-presidents of the Overseas Service Pensioners' Association.

SIR PATRICK DEAN, senior British representative at the United Nations, who arrived in London last week for discussions, is about to leave for a 19-day visit of the Federation, Bechuanaland, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Kenya and Uganda.

SENATOR GODFREY KIPURY attended the opening session of Kenya's House of Representatives with his hand heavily bandaged. He had been mauled two days previously by a white leopard which he killed. He was wearing a hat made from its skin.

MAJOR G. J. B. LAWLESS and MR. E. B. F. MCILVENNA from Ndola, MR. J. F. PENNINGTON from Mufulira, and MESSRS. G. G. DAVIES, JOHN COATES, E. C. THOMSON and MR. and MRS. LAWRIE ROWLAND from Lusaka, are now in London.

MESSRS. KARIOKI NJIRI, FREDERICK MATI (Kenya), H. E. ABDALA-ANYURU, S. E. ISIAGI (Uganda), and H. E. SARWATT (Tanganyika) are the East African M.Ps. invited here by the C.P.A. with other Parliamentarians for the June-July visit.

MR. GODWIN LEWANIKA, the African Parliamentary Secretary to the Federal Ministry of External Affairs, said in Salisbury after returning from a month's visit to the United States that he had been shocked by the racial tension in the Southern States.

MR. ERNEST B. HADDON, who was for many years in the Colonial Service in Uganda, will at the July 4 meeting of the Royal African Society receive its bronze medal for dedicated service to Africa. The presentation will be made by SIR CHARLES PONSONBY.

An Agreement on Cultural Co-operation between Tanganyika and the People's Republic of China has been signed in Dar es Salaam between MR. NANGWANDA SIAONA, Minister for National Culture and Youth, and MR. HO YING, the Chinese Ambassador.

MR. DUNCAN SANDYS, M.P., Secretary of State for the Colonies, presided for the first time at the annual dinner last week of the Corona Club. LADY (JAMES) ROBERTSON, president of the Women's Corona Society, took the chair at its annual dinner on the same evening.

During his visit to Germany PRESIDENT KENNEDY and his sister, MRS. EUNICE SHRIVER, wife of the director of the American Peace Corps, attended the inauguration by PRESIDENT LEUBKE of the German Development Service, which has been modelled on the American Peace Corps.

LORD BADEN-POWELL, aged 26, who served in Southern Rhodesia in the B.S.A.P., and now holds an off-licence in Nottingham, and MISS PATIENCE BATTY, daughter of MR. and MRS. DOUGLAS MYERS BATTY, of Gwelo, have announced their engagement. They first met in Rhodesia.

MR. RONALD NGAIA has been elected president of the Coast Regional Assembly of Kenya, of which MR. R. S. MATANO is vice-president. MR. WILFRID HAVELOCK and DR. M. RANA are two of the four specially elected members. MR. HAVELOCK has been elected chairman of the Agrarian Committee.

THE REV. JOHN V. TAYLOR, general secretary-designate of the Church Missionary Society, who was for 10 years a missionary in Uganda, and then undertook research work in East and Central Africa for the International Missionary Council, has been appointed an honorary canon of the Cathedral of St. Paul, Namirembe, Uganda.

MWALIMU NYERERE, President of Tanganyika, will be installed tomorrow as Chancellor of the University of East Africa. The ceremony will be held at the Royal College, Nairobi. On Saturday **MWALIMU NYERERE** will go to Kampala with the **PRIME MINISTER OF KENYA** for further talks on East African Federation.

THE **ETHIOPIAN AMBASSADOR** in the United States has protested to the State Department against remarks made in a television programme by **SENATOR A. J. ELLENDER**, who said, as he did while visiting East Africa last year, that most of the African politicians who demand independence are incapable of governing their countries.

PRESIDENT FELIX HOUPHOUËT-BOIGNY, of the Republic of the Ivory Coast, spent a few hours in Dar es Salaam last week when the **S.S. JEAN LABORDE**, in which he was travelling to Madagascar for a State visit, called at the port. The **PRESIDENT** and **MADAME BOIGNY** lunched with **MWALIMU** and **MRS. NYERERE** at State House.

LIKE **SELTANAT HABTE MARIAM WORKINEH**, Dean of the Cathedral Church of Addis Ababa, was the guest at luncheon in the House of Lords on Monday of the **DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE**, Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations. His other guests were the **ETHIOPIAN AMBASSADOR**, **BISHOP CRASKE**, **CANON J. R. SATTERTHWAITE**, and **MR. P. H. LAURENCE**.

PRINCE WILLIAM OF GLOUCESTER, now 21, who has just completed a three-year history course at Cambridge, has left with seven undergraduate friends for a two-months' motor tour of East Africa. In September he is to go to the co-educational Stamford University, California, U.S.A., to read economics. Late next year he hopes to enter the Civil Service.

Archaeological discoveries at Olduvai Gorge and elsewhere indicated that Tanganyika's place in pre-history was unique. **MR. N. SJAONA**, Minister for National Culture and Youth, told the National Assembly when speaking on the National Museum Bill. It deletes the old title of King George V Memorial and provides for close association with the University College in Dar es Salaam.

THE **REV. ARTHUR PRENTICE**, now in his 92nd year, will on June 29 celebrate the 60th anniversary of his priesthood. He returned to England in 1947 after spending some 30 years in Uganda, where he founded Rubaga School and was afterwards for many years at Katigondo Seminary. Among his pupils there were the present **CARDINAL RUGAMBWA**, **ARCHBISHOP KIWANUKA**, and **BISHOP DDUNGU**.

MR. JAMES A. PERKINS, vice-president of the Carnegie Corporation, will on July 1 become president of Cornell University, U.S.A. He is to be succeeded at the Carnegie Corporation by **MR. ALAN PIFER**, who has been on the staff for ten years. He is a trustee of the African-American Institute and was a consultant at the U.N.E.S.C.O. conference on African education held in Addis Ababa two years ago.

When **SIR ROBERT MENZIES**, Prime Minister of Australia, was interviewed on B.B.C. Television a few nights ago, he declined to comment on the suggestion that Afro-Asian members of the Commonwealth might try to expel Southern Rhodesia. He described **SIR ROY WELENSKY** as an old friend, and said that a sense of special relationship, rather than any structural idea, now held the Commonwealth together.

SIR JOHN FLETCHER-COOKE, lately Deputy Governor of Tanganyika, is presiding over a conference of directors of institutes of public administration in the Commonwealth which is being held from June 23 to July 3 partly in the country and partly in London. Those attending from East and Central Africa are **DR. DAVID KIMBLE** (Tanganyika), and **MESSRS. B. L. JACOBS** (Uganda), **P. D. MCENTEE** and **A. J. F. SIMMANCE** (Kenya), **A. C. NORTH** (Northern Rhodesia), and **M. BENNION** (Nyasaland).

SIR JOHN HAY has given six months' notice of his decision to resign the managing directorship of Guthrie Estates Agency, Ltd., a group with a Rhodesian subsidiary.

MR. JOHN MWAKANGALE, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Local Government in Tanganyika, **MR. MUHARAMI MFAUME**, mayor of Dar es Salaam, and **MR. C. A. KALLAGHE**, Minister for Local Government, are among 30 Africans from Tanganyika who flew to Berlin at the week-end to attend a six weeks' seminar on local administration and finance organized by the German Foundation for Developing Countries.

Among visitors to London from the Federation are **MR. J. R. AIMER**, **MR. and MRS. BURGOYNE**, **MR. and MRS. J. BRETT**, **MR. and MRS. D. O. COWLAND-COOPER**, **MR. F. E. O. DAVIES**, **MR. and MRS. R. A. DODSWORTH**, **MR. and MRS. J. G. M. HOOPER**, **MR. and MRS. A. R. W. PORTER**, **MR. and MRS. R. C. SCOTT**, **MR. R. C. SHORT**, **MR. and MRS. R. SYMONS**, **MR. G. WALKER-SMITH**, and **MR. RALPH WHITTAKER**.

LORD COLERAINE, who has keen Central African interests, has resigned the chairmanship of Atomic Power Constructions, Ltd., the deputy chairmanship of the United Power Co., Ltd., and his directorship of the General Electric Co., Ltd. (a member of the United Power Co.), in protest against the actions of the Central Electricity Generating Board, and has called for an investigation of its exercise of its responsibilities.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR RICHARD GOODWIN, G.O.C.-in-C. in East Africa, who is now in England, is Colonel of the 1st East Anglian Regiment (Royal Norfolk and Suffolk), and will attend the presentation of new Colours by **PRINCESS MARGARET**, their Colonel in Chief. **GENERAL GOODWIN** was commissioned in the Suffolks in 1928 and commanded the 1st Bn. in North West Europe during the last war. At the parade also will be **MAJOR-GENERAL I. H. FREELAND, G.O.C. designate** in East Africa, who was commissioned in the Royal Norfolk Regiment.

MISS FRENE GINWALA, a Parsee Indian, who on May 13 was given 24 hours' notice to leave Tanganyika and was arrested the next day on an expulsion order and kept in prison until she was deported from Dar es Salaam at the week-end, arrived in London on Monday. She has been given permission to stay three months for medical treatment. As editor of the pan-African magazine *Spearhead*, she has been a strong critic of the Verwoerd Government. She was also the *Guardian's* correspondent in Dar es Salaam, where she was in close and constant contact with a number of the leading African politicians. Her expulsion, for which no reasons have been given, therefore caused much surprise.

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Obituaries

Sir Robert Hudson

SIR ROBERT JAMES HUDSON, K.C.M.G., M.C., Q.C., B.A., LL.B., who died last week in Salisbury at the age of 78, was chairman of the Federal Broadcasting Corporation and a former Chief Justice of Southern Rhodesia.

Born in Cape Colony, he was educated at the Diocesan College of Rondebosch, and Caius College, Cambridge, where he won his half-blue for tennis. He was called to the Bar by the Middle Temple in 1909, and then practised in Bulawayo until the outbreak of war in 1914. He immediately enlisted in the 1st Rhodesia Regiment for service in South West Africa, and, that short campaign over, joined the Royal Flying Corps in 1915. He quickly qualified as a pilot, was awarded the M.C. in 1916, and retired at the end of the war as a major.

On demobilization he returned to Rhodesia to practise, and in 1923 became the first Attorney-General and Minister of Defence on the grant of responsible government, holding those offices for a decade, until he became a judge of the High Court of the Colony in 1933. Ten years later he was made Chief Justice. He retired in 1950, in which year he was made K.C.M.G. He had been knighted six years earlier.

He became chairman of the Rhodesian board of the Standard Bank and a director of Tanganyika Concessions, Ltd., and other companies.

His first marriage was to Constance de Beer in 1920; she died in 1925. Three years later he married Millicent Bruce Sutherland, who survives him with their son and daughter.

Captain Guy Wilson

CAPTAIN GUY EDWARD HARRINGTON WILSON, M.B.E., who has died in Worthing, Sussex, at the age of 80, had done much survey work in Tanganyika, Kenya, Uganda and, half a century ago, in South America.

As a young man he enlisted in the Yeomanry (the Westminster Dragoons), and, having qualified as a surveyor, was appointed to a boundary commission set up in 1912 by the Government of Bolivia to establish its frontiers with Peru and Brazil. The leader of the commission being recalled to the colours on the outbreak of war in 1914, Wilson took over, soon finished the survey, and came back with a British volunteer contingent from South America. He joined the Royal Engineers, was quickly commissioned, and served in Gallipoli, France, and Flanders throughout the rest of the war.

On demobilization he entered the Colonial Service and was posted to Tanganyika. Later, at the time of the gold rush to the Kakamega district of Kenya, he undertook survey work for several mining companies, but when the high hopes of that field faded he joined the Geological Survey of Uganda. He was engaged on the special survey made in connexion with the railway extension into Western Uganda. The Wilson Dam in Uganda was named after him.

He had married in 1912 Bessie Victoria Pringle, who survives him with a son and three daughters.

Sir David Campbell, M.P.

LAST WEEK'S ISSUE contained a tribute from Mr. Gerald Sayers to Sir David Campbell, M.P., one of the original members of the Secretariat in Tanganyika when British rule was established after the 1914-18 war.

Sir Godfrey Nicholson, a fellow member of the House of Commons, has since written in a brief tribute in *The Times*:—

"It would be hard to find a man with a sweeter nature or nobler character than David Campbell. He must have been almost without flaw, and that very fact tends to make assessment platitudinous. He had none of the characteristics traditionally associated with politicians—no vanity, no assertiveness, nor did he play a great part in debate. But he will be remembered with deep affection by his many friends long after most of those who are more in the public eye have met with oblivion."

An anonymous friend wrote:—

"As one of Sir David Campbell's colleagues in recent years in the House of Commons, may I add a personal tribute? David's shining characteristic was integrity; he was absolutely and patently fair in all his dealings. He was also one of the kindest persons I have ever known. These qualities, added to a naturally friendly nature, brought him the respect and affection of ministers and members on all sides of the House. He was a fine and noble Ulsterman, and Westminster will be a poorer place lacking his gentle influence. The work which he did for his native land was considerable, but perhaps it was the English and Scots who appreciated its true worth."

Mr. Brian Kennedy-Cooke

MR. BRIAN KENNEDY-COOKE, C.B.E., M.C., who died suddenly last week, aged 68, joined the Sudan Political Service after the 1914-18 war, in which he was awarded the Military Cross. He was made governor of the Kassala Province in 1935. He rejoined the Army on the outbreak of war in 1939 with the rank of brigadier, and in 1941-42 was Military Administrator of Eritrea. From 1943 to 1950 he was controller of the arts and sciences division of the British Council, and then for six years its representative in Rome. On retirement from that post he was appointed training officer for Africa of Overseas Service.

SIR ANGUS GILLAN, sometime Civil Secretary in the Sudan, has written in a tribute:—

"The Sudan's greatest debt to K.-C. (as he was always known) is probably his handling as Governor of Kassala Province of the preparations for and the execution of the temporary evacuation of Kassala town and district in the face of the Italian attack in 1940. The loyalty of the Sudanese and their firm belief in the speedy return of the Government when forces could be built up were a measure of the confidence which he had inspired.

"Similarly, in the British Council his mixed team of scientists, artists and literati could confidently come to him to sort out their administrative difficulties—or to knock their heads together when occasion demanded.

"He did admirable work as organizer of the African courses of Overseas Service; it was during last week's course that he literally died in harness. I was fortunate in securing his interest in the Royal Over-Seas League, where his enthusiasm and his aptitude in mixing on a man-to-man basis with all colours and creeds earned him early election as vice-chairman. He will be sadly missed at Over-Seas House. To Judy, ideal complement and companion, and to his family goes out the heartfelt sympathy of their many friends."

MR. RICHARD N. MINNS, who has died in Nairobi at the age of 55, visited Kenya in 1925, was greatly attracted by the country, returned to England to graduate in agriculture at Cambridge University, and then went back to East Africa, first as manager of a large farm near Naro Moru, in which district he soon bought a farm of his own. He added another later, and altogether owned some 15,000 acres. He had a first-class herd of Ayrshire cattle, grew cereals on a large scale, and also concentrated on pig production, serving for many years on the Pig Industry Board. He was an excellent photographer, a devoted bird-watcher, and keen on sailing and sea fishing. He is survived by a widow and twin sons.

MRS. KATHLEEN ELIZA LEGAT, widow of Arthur Legat, died recently in Nairobi.

MR. V. H. RUDD, who has died in Mufulira, Northern Rhodesia, aged 81, was mayor of Pretoria in 1949-50.

LADY VISCHER, widow of Sir Hanns Vischer, and daughter of G. de Tscherner de Watteville, died last Thursday. Sir Hanns died in 1945.

Crab Walking in Different Directions

Mr. A. Wina on African Nationalism

NATIONALISM has been described by Mr. A. Wina, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Finance in Northern Rhodesia, as "the saviour and promoter of community effort, and in a few unfortunate cases as the killer and poison of community work".

Addressing a conference in Lusaka convened by the Department of Community Development, he said:—

"Periods of national pride either resulting from an emergency national situation like war or from a national liberation struggle for independence are moments of great national pride which result in an upsurge of tremendous enthusiasms. In a war situation effort is expended on doing for the nation those things which contribute to the successful waging of the war, and in freedom movements doing those things which maximize the chances of independence.

"After the event, despondency, frustrated hopes, and unfulfilled ambitions have a tendency to corrupt the health and pride of the individual to serve his country disinterestedly and without reward. We of Northern Rhodesia are about to enter this phase of our history.

"A Government that represents the views of the majority is now in control. Albeit it is a three-legged administration, which at times gives the impression of a crab walking in different directions. This stage is a result of painful sacrifices by many men and women and especially of the quality and dedication of the leaders. What a great pity it would be if upon the achievements of independence this effort to serve the nation either recedes into the search for individual glory and riches or into corrupt and undignified channels!

"This is said to be potentially one of the richest parts of Africa. Northern Rhodesia through its own organized effort plus capital injection can translate this rich potential into its service through projects many of which will rely on community spirit".

Too Much Quarrelling, Says Governor

Shadow of Fratricidal Strife

SIR EVELYN HONE, Governor of Northern Rhodesia, said in Lusaka a few days ago: "What makes the outlook so bright here is that the country has accepted calmly, fully and widely the major shift in the balance of political power. There is only one shadow over this bright scene—that those to whom the power is passing have not fully realized the great opportunity that lies before them, and that some of them are wasting time, substance and sometimes even life on fruitless, fratricidal strife. Northern Rhodesia cannot afford this quarrelling. The hatchets must be buried, so that all may turn their hands to building the great future that is Northern Rhodesia's potential and its due. I am convinced that this will happen".

Politics A Danger

Mr. C. J. A. Banda, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of African Education, said on the same occasion:—

"The success of the nation depends on her educated men and women. Were our leaders not educated, we should have experienced chaos and bloodshed, corruption and national inefficiency, which would have disrupted our industry and our community.

"One dangerous snag looming over our heads which might hinder our community development is politics. Schemes are more difficult to initiate than they were five years ago. People are becoming suspicious of each other to the extent of refusing to co-operate on good and worth-while schemes. They never look at the schemes, but at the man heading the project. If he is known to be a member of a political party the project is doomed. They start to speculate: 'Oh, that is a U.N.I.P. or A.N.C. or even an N.P.P. scheme'. This makes it more important for leaders in community development to be divorced from politics if they possibly can.

"Perhaps the greatest single problem is that communities do not protect the young single woman teacher as they should; because of this parents naturally do not want their daughters who are teachers sent to villages where they are most needed but less likely to be protected".

Copperbelt Riots Cause More Deaths

COPPERBELT OFFICIALS on Monday met the Chief Secretary, Mr. Richard Luyt, to discuss the deteriorating security situation in Northern Rhodesia, where more inter-party clashes at the week-end brought the death roll of recent months to 20, with some 100 injured. Thousands of miners and other Africans, armed with axes, spears, bows and arrows, and rocks have been frequently engaged in affrays in Chingola, Kitwe, two Ndola townships, Nchangá, Bancroft and elsewhere. During the previous week-end rioters tore down trees and uprooted paving stones to set up road-blocks. Beer-halls were wrecked. Police had to use tear-gas and open fire before they could break up the *mêlées* and make arrests. Circular letters demanding the resignation of the U.N.I.P. leader, Mr. Kaunda, were distributed in Lusaka last week.

Trade Pact for Rhodesias

STAGE BY STAGE negotiations on their various inter-territorial services should be employed by the Rhodesias and Nyasaland to provide a trade pact for five years, after the dissolution of the Federation, Sir Frederick Crawford, resident director of the Chartered Company, suggested recently in Bulawayo.

"Capital is not attracted by talk of barriers and boycotts. Let us instead try to get together on the trade level, even if we have failed so far to reconcile our politics. Trade flows most freely along unobstructed channels, and breeds associations which can enable countries otherwise politically poles apart to continue commercial contact and to live as trading neighbours.

"Politics hamper economic development and cause great suffering in the process. In the long run the laws of economics are more inexorable than the blunders of politicians. If trade is destroyed or seriously damaged—actively by politics or passively by lack of courage—there will be no cake to share until the land has been tilled again, the grain sown and reaped, and the hearth or bakery rebuilt".

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Forget The "Bad Old Days"

Kenya P.M. Warns Against Subversion

THE PRIME MINISTER of Kenya, Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, told a public meeting at Nakuru on Sunday that the new K.A.N.U. Government "is not just for those who elected us; we shall care equally for those people who gave us their votes and those who did not. Those who do not agree with us have proper ways of making their views known. The Opposition is formally recognized in our national Constitution, and can play a constructive rôle in nation-building.

"On the other hand, we shall be as firm as any other Government in dealing with anyone who turns to subversive action. We are determined to maintain law and order.

"Every Member of Parliament should bear in mind that he represents all his constituents, whether they voted for him or not. He has a duty to watch over the needs of those who may have been his political opponents as well as over those of his supporters.

"If this country is to prosper, we must create a sense of national familyhood, of *Ujamaa*. We must bring all the communities of Kenya to build a unified nation. In this task we shall make use of those attitudes of self-help, good-neighbourliness and communal assistance, which are such an important feature of our traditional societies.

"We shall build upon this spirit, adapting and expanding it to deal with the task of creating a nation. We must forget all our differences of the past and work together to build the new Kenya of the future. Where there has been racial hatred, it must be ended. Where there has been tribal animosity, it will be finished.

"We must not dwell upon past bitterness. I have known my share of suffering, but I am not anxious to remember it now. Rather let us look to the good new Kenya, not to the bad old days. If we can create this sense of national direction and identity we shall have gone a long way towards solving our economic problems. We hold no empty promises of achieving a new Kenya overnight. What we hold out to every citizen is the prospect of hard work which will be justly rewarded".



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Kenya Wants New Industries

Taxation Not To Be Excessive

DR. J. G. KIANO, Minister for Commerce and Industry in Kenya, told a Nairobi audience a few days ago that the Government would not be foolish enough to increase taxation in a way which would kill the goose laying the golden eggs. To have increased company tax beyond 7s. 50cts. in the £ might have decreased the revenue. That rate, however, was not punitive; indeed, it was attractive in comparison with what companies paid in the U.K., U.S.A., France, Germany, Canada or Japan.

The Government's aim was to create a climate favourable to new investment from overseas and the expansion of existing industries. Kenya had lagged behind Uganda and Tanganyika in textile manufacture, but synthetic piece-goods should shortly be in pilot production. The demand for blankets was immensely greater than the total production.

About £2.5m. had already been invested in the country's softwood plantations, and it seemed probable that the East African market for paper products was enough to support a paper pulp industry based on those long-fibred timbers. If the saw-milling industry were modernized there should be export possibilities.

There was room for more factories producing simple agricultural machinery, a wide range of building materials, aluminium, and steel products, hurricane lamps, metal containers, glassware, motor and bicycle tyres, boots and shoes, soap, brushes and brooms, matches, cigarettes, soft drinks, beer and spirits. The manufacture of bicycles seemed an immediate possibility.

Mau Mau Detainee Tells His Story

Distributors Who Will Not Distribute

MR. JOSEPH MWANGI KARIUKI, now a member of Kenya's National Assembly, has written a book called "Mau Mau Detainee", which is due for publication in August by the Oxford University Press.

According to a Nairobi telegram to the *Guardian*, it will not be sold by an East African book-selling company with seven shops and a large wholesale business, Stationery and Office Supplies, Ltd., whose sales manager, Mr. P. M. Shaw, was quoted as saying that distributors of the book appeared to run the risk of actions for defamation.

In describing conditions in detention camps during the Mau Mau rebellion, Mr. Kariuki substitutes the names of English towns for those of Europeans and Old Testament names for those of Africans, but as he mentions camps by name identification of persons might be pleaded.

Other Nairobi shops have ordered the book, for which Miss Margery Perham has written a foreword.

Asked to comment on the decision of the S. & O. group not to stock the book, the author said: "That is a lame excuse. Their shops sold thousands of copies of Ruark's 'Uhuru'".

Rebuke for Junior Minister in Kenya

THE FOLLOWING REBUKE has been issued in Nairobi:—

"The Prime Minister's attention has been drawn to a statement made by a junior Minister which urges that the Southern Sudanese should be granted independence. The Prime Minister wishes to make it clear that this statement was issued without authority and in no way represents the views of the Government.

"The Kenya Government strongly favours African unity and condemns movements which advocate the secession of regions or provinces from African States. The Kenya Government is on the friendliest of terms with the Government of the Sudan, and is determined to maintain those relations in the interest of both nations and of the unity of Africa as a whole".

The 26-mile pipeline from the Sabre River to Blantyre-Limbe is now operating. This Walker's Ferry scheme has cost about £2.3m., the Nyasaland Government finding £100,000, H.M. Government £900,000, and the C.D.C. £1.3m.



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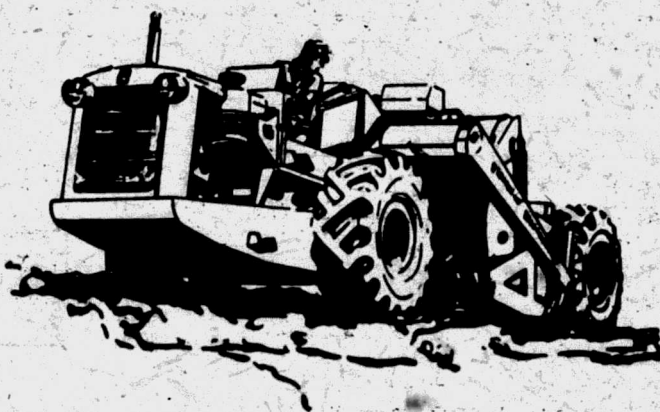
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Parliament

Dissolution Conference at Victoria Falls

Mr. Butler's Statement to Parliament

MR. R. A. BUTLER said in the House of Commons last week:

"Since my statement on May 21 discussions have taken place in London with the Southern Rhodesian Government. There has also been a further exchange of letters. The position has not yet been reached which would enable H.M. Government to arrive at a decision on the question of Southern Rhodesia's independence. Contact is being maintained with the Government of Southern Rhodesia.

"I am, however, glad to be able to inform the House that the Federal Government and the Governments of Southern and Northern Rhodesia have agreed to attend a conference on the orderly dissolution of the Federation and the consequential problems involved. This will begin at Victoria Falls on June 28. I shall be leaving for Africa early next week. Recent correspondence between H.M. Government and the Government of Southern Rhodesia is published today as a White Paper."

MR. STRACHEY: "Is the First Secretary aware that hon. Members on this side of the House think that it is high time that H.M. Government did arrive at a decision on the question of the independence of Southern Rhodesia, and that this decision ought to be that independence cannot be granted while the present Constitution of Southern Rhodesia remains unamended?"

Condition of Independence

"Is he further aware that these amendments should be on the lines of the phrases used in his concluding letter to Mr. Field, in which he refers to 'broadening the basis of representation in the legislature' of Southern Rhodesia 'which would take effect as soon as practicable', and also to the future development of policy on non-discrimination? Can the rt. hon. gentleman assure the House that he is making acceptance of these propositions by the Southern Rhodesian Government a condition of independence?"

MR. BUTLER: "That is precisely why it is included in the last letter in this published series. Those are the subjects that we have been discussing with the Southern Rhodesian Government. Mr. Field in a previous letter said that his own Government were not able to accept this basis of discussion at present. Discussions will continue, but we shall continue to put these points of view."

MR. TURTON: "I congratulate my rt. hon. friend on the success in the initial step of negotiations. Will he make it clear how far the future economic links of the three territories will be the subject of this first part of the conference? Will he take the opportunity of impressing upon the delegates to the conference the inevitability of a fall in the standard of living in all three territories unless some form of economic link is devised?"

Orderly Dissolution

MR. BUTLER: "The primary object of the conference is to arrange the orderly dissolution of the Federation, but all the territories are interested in future links, and I am hoping that opportunities will arise while I am at Victoria Falls for this matter to be carried a stage further, so that further constructive work can be done in order to alleviate the economic difficulties of the area."

MR. WADE: "Is the conference to be limited to representatives of Governments? Where great constitutional issues are involved, is it not most important that as wide a body of opinion as possible should be consulted, and that we should try to avoid the errors committed at the first Victoria Falls conference? What steps will be taken to ascertain the views of the Africans in Southern Rhodesia?"

MR. BUTLER: "This is a conference of Governments. Unless we stick to that we shall not make any progress. I have given an assurance — particularly to the Southern Rhodesian Government, but also to all the Governments concerned — that this conference will not be engaged in discussing the constitutional and internal affairs of any particular territory. When that time comes I will pay attention to what the hon. Member has said."

MR. WALL: "Will my rt. hon. friend confirm that two days' discussion prior to the conference has the object of reaching

agreement on Southern Rhodesian independence, that there is no need for a further constitutional conference on this matter, and that it is his desire to bring Southern Rhodesia to independence as soon as the Federation is dissolved?"

MR. BUTLER: "There is no proposal for an actual constitutional conference in Southern Rhodesia. There is acceptance of the request of Mr. Field to have a further discussion, but in that discussion I shall certainly maintain the points of view that I have put, which are mentioned in the exchange of correspondence. So at present I must enter any further discussions without any commitment, but with good will towards that Government. I cannot do more than that. I do not wish to be tied down any further as to the discussions that I shall have."

MR. MASON: "Is Nyasaland not being invited? Has the rt. hon. gentleman not come to a compromise agreement with Mr. Field regarding the independence of Southern Rhodesia? Thirdly, has H.M. Government not made the three territorial Governments aware of their views on the future of the Federation and continuing economic links before the conference takes place? There does not seem to be a reference in the White Paper to any agenda. Finally, what possibilities does the rt. hon. gentleman think there are of broadening the franchise of Southern Rhodesia?"

Not Easy

MR. BUTLER: "Nyasaland has been invited and is to send an observer; for which I think we should be grateful, because Nyasaland was taking up a non-co-operative view before. An agenda of a simple character has been agreed with the Federal and other Governments. Broadening the franchise of Southern Rhodesia is precisely one of the matters which we have been discussing with the Southern Rhodesian Government."

SIR R. NUGENT: "May I congratulate my rt. hon. friend on his skill in bringing about this conference? Is he aware that to have yielded to the pressure from Southern Rhodesia to grant independence to them as a *quid pro quo* for attendance at the conference would undoubtedly have destroyed the conference before it ever started and completely destroyed all prospects of future economic links? Is he aware that he is very much to be congratulated on resisting that pressure?"

MR. BUTLER: "I am grateful to my rt. hon. friend for his intervention. I shall certainly need the good wishes of the House, as I think that the conference will not be an easy one to carry through. The dissolution of the Federation is not a thing we desire, but we think that it is now inevitable. It has to be done in an orderly way, and I certainly hope that I carry the good wishes of the House with me."

MR. STRACHEY: "The First Secretary has said that he would maintain his position on the broadening of the franchise in Southern Rhodesia. May we be assured that he means that he makes this a condition of the granting of independence, because that is the real issue before the House?"

MR. BUTLER: "I cannot say how far we shall get in the next stage of the discussions with the Southern Rhodesian Government. But, having taken up a position, the House must be aware that we wish to see a definite indication of a development in the constitutional field including the matter to which the rt. hon. gentleman referred, before we can make satisfactory progress."

Kenya Security Risks

MR. TURTON asked how many security risk cases there were in Kenya.

MR. SANDYS: "In round figures it is estimated by the Governor of Kenya that the number of security risk and hardship cases, excluding those covered in the normal settlement programme, are, in the following categories: owners of farm property, 100; pensioners and annuitants without capital, 50; destitute people, 100.

"The Governor is still in correspondence with non-official organizations in Kenya as to the number of owners of residential property who might be considered security risk or hardship cases. A preliminary estimate of cases in this category is 150."

Asked what progress had been made in granting special U.K. credits for the use of idle capacity for exports to developing countries, MR. MAUDLING replied: "Under the Government's plan for linking aid to the developing countries with the use of surplus productive capacity offers of additional aid have been made to the value of some £15m. Formal loan agreements have been signed for over £7m., and, in addition, an agreement to lend £2m. to Pakistan for the purchase of sugar machinery is being signed today. We shall continue to make every effort to match proposals for overseas aid with the use of spare capacity."

Six Europeans have been killed in Katanga in the last few weeks, all allegedly by Congolese troops.

Southern Rhodesia's Independence

(Continued from page 913)

"These considerations apart, your letter, with all respect, seems to us still to underrate the constitutional difficulty of granting full independence to Southern Rhodesia while she remains a member of the Federation. While the Federation is still in existence none of the members of it can become fully independent States, for the Federation is not independent, and so while it remains in being none of its members can be fully independent either. Moreover, the Federation is not brought to an end by the recognition of a right of its members to secede from it, nor is it necessarily brought to an end by the passage of an Act of Parliament which takes one of its members out of the Federation. It can be brought to an end only by the passage of United Kingdom legislation enacting that the Federation shall cease to exist. It is important that these facts should be recognized, for Southern Rhodesia's membership of the Federation is a complicating factor in relation to the grant of independence to Southern Rhodesia.

"In my letter I certainly had not overlooked the joint declaration of April 28, 1957. You will, however, note that the convention is limited to not initiating any legislation to amend or repeal any Federal Act or to deal with any matter included within the competence of the Federal Legislature except at the request of the Federal Government.

Internal Affairs Not To Be Discussed

"I am glad to know that you recognize the desirability of discussions between the territories both on the broad lines of a future relationship and on the transitional arrangements required for the orderly dissolution of the Federation. While it is true that the independence of Southern Rhodesia (after the dissolution of the Federation) has no logical connexion with the establishment of economic links between the territories, yet it has been and remains our view that if the territories are to move from their present Federal association into a new and fruitful relationship, there should be a conference on the two subjects which are closely inter-related, that is to say, how to bring the Federation to an end and how to establish a future association on acceptable lines.

"We fully recognize that any form of future association must be one which is freely entered into by the territories. In proposing a conference to discuss a future relationship between the territories and the transitional arrangements which will be necessary, it was not, of course, the intention of the British Government to attempt to impose any form of association. Naturally, we did not contemplate any discussion at such a conference of the internal affairs of any of the constituent territories.

"In response to your view that a conference on economic links has no valid connexion with the grant of independence I am, however, authorized to say that we would be ready to hold the conference we had in mind in two stages. The first stage would be confined to considering the problems involved in an orderly dissolution of the Federation. These, I am sure you will agree, are of vital importance to Southern Rhodesia. Until this has been done it is not possible to know precisely what will be the date when the Federation will be formally brought to an end and therefore Southern Rhodesia cease to be a member of it. This is in fact and in law a condition precedent to Southern Rhodesia becoming fully independent. Therefore we think that if the conference is held in this form and starts with the discussion of the ending of the Federation this will be the first step towards the objective which you desire.

Negotiations About Independence

"Thus, in our view the time that it will take before Southern Rhodesia becomes independent rests largely with the Southern Rhodesia Government. If your Government is prepared to co-operate and to discuss with us the matters which must be resolved before independence can be granted we see no reason why there should be long delay.

"If co-operation in relation to these matters is forthcoming, the British Government will undertake to enter into negotiations on her independence with Southern Rhodesia not later than the date on which negotiations for the independence of either of the other territories are initiated by us. We cannot regard it as unreasonable nor incompatible with Southern Rhodesia's status and record as a self-governing Colony that she should be asked to participate in the discussions necessary to secure the orderly dissolution of the Federation and the orderly achievement of independence. I should at this point say that I am sorry if any misunderstanding has arisen over my reference to 'self-governing dependencies'. I used this expression as indicating territories which, though self-governing, had not become independent.

"In your letter you make a number of references to the Southern Rhodesian Constitution of 1961, which, as you say, itself confers wide powers of amendment. I would like to make it clear that we do not envisage another constitutional conference such as took place in 1961, and we agree that in the light of the recognized convention it would not be right for the United Kingdom themselves to enact any changes in the Constitution. Nonetheless, our Government would wish to discuss with yours whether and in what respects the power of amendment to which you refer should be exercised.

"You conclude your letter by asking that there should be no further delay. We agree. We have set out the position above and as soon as we hear from you that you are ready to co-operate in carrying matters forward along the lines I have described we will immediately consult with the Government of the Federation and the Government of Northern Rhodesia with a view to arranging the first stage of the conference—that is, the one concerned with the orderly dissolution of the Federation to which I have referred. This is the first practical step to take, and I look forward to hearing from you further how we can make progress on these lines."

Discussions Before Conference

A week later, on May 9, Mr. Field replied:—

"MY DEAR FIRST SECRETARY,—Thank you for your letter of May 2 in reply to mine of April 20 and for your appreciative references to the achievements of the people of Southern Rhodesia and the contribution of Southern Rhodesia to the defence of the Commonwealth.

"I note that you are now prepared to hold the conference you have in mind in two stages, the first to deal with the dissolution of the Federation, and the second to deal with economic links. I also note with pleasure that you do not envisage that the pre-independence discussions in the case of Southern Rhodesia should take the form of another constitutional conference, and that you agree that changes, if any, in the Constitution which might result from the discussions should be effected not by United Kingdom legislation but by virtue of the powers of amendment already contained in the Southern Rhodesia Constitution.

"On the other hand, you appear to contemplate that the pre-independence discussions should be deferred until after the conference has taken place. Indeed, you go no further than to hold out the prospect of entering into such discussions in the case of Southern Rhodesia 'not later than the date on which negotiations for the independence of either of the other territories are initiated' by you. I can see no point whatever in waiting for this.

"You will recall that on March 29 I made a formal application for Southern Rhodesia to be given its full independence on the first date on which either one or the other territory (i.e., Northern Rhodesia or Nyasaland) secedes or obtains its independence. I submit that this application was entirely reasonable, but in order to meet one of your difficulties I am prepared under certain conditions to modify the application to this extent: that Southern Rhodesia should be given its full independence not later than the date when the dissolution of the Federation occurs.

Minister Invited to Salisbury

"The conditions on which I am prepared to modify the application are, that the discussions, which you regard as a necessary prelude to independence, should take place before the conference on dissolution and economic links, and that agreement should be reached between our two Governments on all the requirements for independence before any other conference begins.

"Recognizing as you do that these discussions are not of such a character as to be rated a constitutional conference, and that amendments to the Constitution, if any, which flow from the discussions would be internal to Southern Rhodesia, I think you will agree that the holding of these discussions before the conference should not occasion any delay in the plans for the orderly dissolution of the Federation.

"I therefore invite you to come out with your advisers to Southern Rhodesia as soon as convenient to yourself to have discussions with us on the terms on which Southern Rhodesia would proceed to independence upon the dissolution of the Federation. Having reached agreement, the conference on dissolution of the Federation and future economic links between the territories could follow almost immediately in the Federation. If this were done it would avoid the necessity of your having to make two journeys.

"As notice would have to be given to all the Governments concerned of the date of the conference it will be advisable to fix a time-table. The Federal Assembly is meeting on June 24 for the budget session, and the various territorial Legislatures will have to meet some time in July for their budgets. I would

therefore suggest that you should aim at arriving here on or about May 27, and that the conference should be convened immediately after Whitsun at the Victoria Falls or Livingstone.

"I believe that the good will engendered by agreement between us on the independence of Southern Rhodesia will do a great deal to facilitate the work of the conference."

Mr. Butler answered on May 16:—

"Thank you for your letter of May 9, from which I feel that we have reached a closer understanding on a number of important points. We are agreed that any changes in the Southern Rhodesia Constitution will be effected by the Southern Rhodesia Parliament and not by Parliament at Westminster.

"You have accepted that discussions should take place on (to quote the words in your letter of May 9) 'the terms on which Southern Rhodesia should proceed to independence'. You have asked that full independence for Southern Rhodesia should be timed to coincide with the dissolution of the Federation. Subject to the satisfactory conclusion of the discussions with regard to independence referred to above, we also regard this as our purpose and objective.

"You have now been good enough to propose that discussions should take place between us on the terms on which Southern Rhodesia should proceed to independence and with the Federal and Northern Rhodesia Governments on the arrangements to be made for the dissolution of the Federation and the subsequent relationship between the Rhodesias. You propose that the independence discussions should start immediately and that an inter-governmental conference should follow immediately after Whitsun.

Independence and Dissolution Interconnected

"Neither of us underestimates the importance to both our Governments of the independence discussions. On the other hand, we both wish to end the existing uncertainties which surround the dissolution of the Federation, including the arrangements for returning to the territories the Federal Government's powers and responsibilities. I know that the desire for speedy decisions is shared by the Northern Rhodesia Government. In addition, Sir Roy Welensky has expressed on more than one occasion his concern to achieve an orderly dissolution of the Federation which in the interests of all concerned should be carried through quickly.

"It is clear that the two issues of independence and dissolution are very closely interconnected. In these circumstances I am prepared to accept your suggestion that discussions on Southern Rhodesia's independence should begin without delay. I much appreciate your anxiety not to place too heavy a burden upon me by a double visit, and it would be most helpful if you could find it possible to come yourself with your advisers to London. If, however, there are personal reasons which prevent you from doing this I would consider coming out to Salisbury myself at an early date.

"I would further propose that simultaneously with the announcement of our discussions invitations should be issued to the Governments concerned to attend a conference to discuss arrangements for the orderly dissolution of the Federation together with the closely connected subject of future links between the territories. I would suggest that the date for the opening of the conference should be fixed and stated as soon as practicable. I would hope to take part personally in this conference.

"If it has not been found possible to complete our discussions on the terms on which Southern Rhodesia should proceed to independence before the conference to which I have just referred, I would undertake that discussions would be resumed at the earliest convenient date.

"I hope that these proposals, which are sincerely intended to meet the views and the problems of both our Governments, will be acceptable to you."

If Deadlock Occurred

Two days later the Prime Minister wrote:—

"Thank you for your message of May 16. I agree with you that we now appear to have come to a somewhat closer understanding.

"I am agreeable to the suggestion that I should come to London with my advisers and that simultaneously with the announcement that we are to have discussions about independence for Southern Rhodesia invitations could be issued to the Governments concerned to attend the conference on 'dissolution and links'. I do so in the belief that in the spirit shown in your message we should be able to reach agreement on the independence issue before the conference begins.

"I need not remind you that I have all along maintained that agreement between us on the independence issue is indispensable to our co-operation in the dissolution exercise. I cannot now depart from this stand. I recognize, however, that

it may be expecting too much to settle before the conference begins all the terms on which independence is to be granted down to the last detail; nevertheless I think it should be possible in the time at our disposal to reach agreement on the essential points and to complete the others at no distant date.

"If unhappily this should turn out to be impossible and if complete deadlock is reached, then I might feel bound to say that our attendance at the conference would serve no useful purpose. I prefer however to base my plans on the firm hope that with your recognition of the pledges to which I am committed we can reach agreement.

"I shall be ready to come with my advisers to London so as to arrive on May 26 and commence our discussions on the 27th. I have accordingly booked plane accommodation.

"I would suggest that the conference be convened for June 10 at Livingstone or the Victoria Falls.

"To revert to the conference and the second purpose of it, namely the future association of the territories, I notice that in answer to Parliamentary questions you have spoken of having given consideration to various schemes. It would be helpful to us all if at an early date you could give us an outline of any scheme which appeals to you as a possible starter. Without something in the way of an initial plan I fear that we are not likely to make very rapid progress with this part of our work."

Terms Unacceptable to Southern Rhodesia

Mr. Field wrote again on June 13:—

"Since returning from London I have discussed with my Cabinet the situation which has arisen from the inability of our respective Governments to agree on a basis for the grant of independence to Southern Rhodesia.

"You have asked me for early advice about my decision whether or not to attend the conference on the dissolution of the Federation which you have proposed to hold on June 20.

"You will need no reminder that I have several times said that my Government's participation in this conference might depend on the outcome of our discussions on Southern Rhodesia's independence. I am naturally disappointed that the entirely reasonable request I put forward to your Government has thus far not had a favourable response.

"I shall not go over the ground we discussed in London, but I must say at once that the terms you then suggested as a basis for agreeing to grant independence are unacceptable to my Government.

"We shall of course continue to press our just and reasonable claims to independence within the Commonwealth on terms acceptable to us, and shall therefore hold you to your promise conveyed in your message of May 16 to resume discussions on this subject at the earliest opportunity.

"We feel it is our duty if at all possible to avoid continuing the uncertainty for both the Federal Government and its employees as well as for the people of Southern Rhodesia, and therefore we are inclined to reconsider the matter of our attendance at the conference. Before finally deciding, however, I am sure you will agree that we are entitled to ask for some further information. You have constantly assured me that the conference would not be of the same farcical character as the 1960 Federal review where there was no agenda and no apparent plan could be discerned. In spite of these assurances I have the gravest doubt whether the conference will achieve any useful purpose unless some preparatory work and thought is given to the agenda and unless the other Governments are given some idea of the British Government's plans for dealing with the situation it has precipitated by its decision to break up the Federation.

Request for Statement of British Proposals

"I cannot believe that your Government has taken this decision without having given considerable thought to a number of the more obvious problems that arise from it (including the disposition of the public debt and the question of the public service and armed forces) and to the form of a future association which might be devised. It appears to me only equitable that before the conference meets the other Governments should be given an opportunity to consider the British Government's tentative views in the form of memoranda on these subjects about which you have hitherto been silent.

"You informed us that it is your intention before your Parliament rises for the summer recess to initiate enabling legislation for the dissolution of the Federation. It seems obvious that your plans for this must by now be well advanced, and I think that it would only be reasonable if before the conference meets you were to give the other Governments a sight of the provisions you contemplate including in the draft Bill and Orders in Council which flow from it.

"As regards the timing of a conference, I do not see how it would be possible to adhere to the tentative date you have selected. The Southern Rhodesia Parliament is to meet on

June 18, so that I can inform the country of the results of our discussions. Moreover, the Federal Assembly is to meet on June 26 and the Federal budget is to be presented the next day. I am told that it is impossible to depart from these dates. I think in these circumstances that should a conference be held it be deferred until June 28. This would necessitate the adjournment of the Federal Assembly for the period of the conference, but I am given to understand that this would occasion less difficulty than any other arrangements.

"Moreover, it is my wish to discuss further with you the question of our independence, and accordingly I invite you to meet me in Salisbury on June 25 or 26 in conformity with the offer which you made to Mr. Dupont and myself on more than one occasion to enable these discussions to take place before we proceed to the conference.

Eschew Evanescent Theorizing

"I would ask you to furnish all the Governments concerned with the information on the subjects mentioned above. It will then be quite clear that the conference if it is held will not degenerate into a forum for the ventilation of evanescent political theories. I must also recall the assurances you gave in your message of May 2 that such a conference would not discuss the internal affairs of any territory.

"Subject to the above and to the production of an acceptable agenda we shall give further consideration to accepting your invitation to attend the conference."

Mr. Butler replied next day, saying:—

"Thank you for your letter of June 13. I am very glad to hear that subject to the terms of your letter you are prepared to reconsider your position as regards attendance at the proposed conference on the dissolution of the Federation. If only for the reasons that you yourself suggested, I am sure it is of the first importance that these discussions should now be set on foot with the least possible delay.

"In this connexion you stressed the need for preliminary work on the agenda. The Acting High Commissioner has at my request already been in contact with you on this matter, and I feel quite sure that there need be no difficulty on that score: what we all want to see is a practical approach to the problems of dissolution. I should here like to confirm that I would not regard the internal affairs of any territory as being proper subjects for discussion at the conference.

Plans Withheld Until Conference

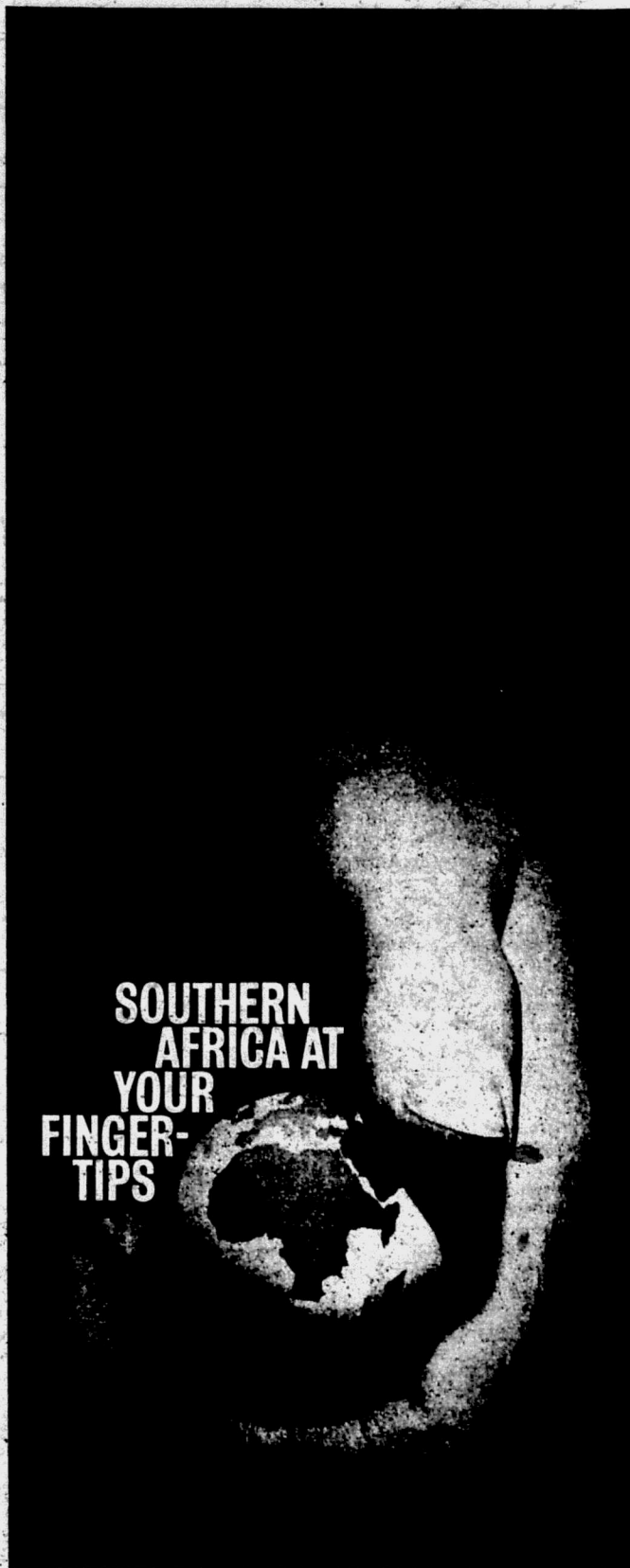
"You also suggest that H.M. Government should communicate 'their plans' in advance to the other Governments concerned. We have of course given careful thought to the problems which the conference will need to consider. The same is, I am sure, true of the other Governments concerned. Consideration will be given to your views. In general, however, I feel that the contributions which Governments may have to offer towards the solution of these problems would best be made in the context of the conference discussions themselves. H.M. Government will of course expect to play their full part in assisting the conference to formulate such solutions.

"As regards the timing of the conference, this is now, as I think you know, provisionally planned to start on June 24, and I must confess that I am somewhat reluctant that the starting date should be further postponed. In all the circumstances I am, however, adjusting arrangements to provide for the conference to start on June 28, and I am announcing this on Tuesday, the 18th.

"You have invited me to meet you in Salisbury on June 25 or 26. I feel that as chairman I should travel direct to Victoria Falls without breaking my journey in Salisbury, but I would propose to arrive at the Falls on June 26 and would be glad to meet you there if that were convenient to you. You will remember that when we met in London we discussed possible amendments which might be made by your Government to the Southern Rhodesia Constitution which would result in broadening the basis of representation in the legislature and would take effect as soon as practicable. We also discussed the future development of policy on non-discrimination. So far as we are concerned these matters remain for further discussion.

"I would like to say in conclusion that I hope to be communicating with the Governments concerned in the near future in regard to the matter you raise in paragraph 8 of your letter (legislature to be laid before the U.K. Parliament). You will, I am sure, appreciate that the nature of the provisions to be included in Orders in Council made under the proposed enabling legislation (which would be in broad and general terms) cannot of course be settled until the detailed arrangements for the dissolution of the Federation have been decided. It is the principal object of the conference to set in train the processes through which these decisions can be reached.

"As has been agreed between us I shall be publishing on June 18 our recent correspondence, including this letter."



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Mr. Gichuru's Budget Statement

(Continued from page 915)

applications to potential overseas lenders, related to specific economic projects, and it will be essential that we should find local money for the local costs of many development schemes. Other territories in Africa are planning to raise from budget surpluses or other local sources at least half the total money required for development. We shall not reach this position in the near future, but must begin planning to tap local sources of money.

"The officers of the Treasury and other Ministries who have to try to match potential overseas sources of aid with Kenya's essential priority needs should have the perspicacity of Solomon, the patience of Job, the persistence of Robert the Bruce, the push of a high-pressure salesman, and the persuasiveness of a company promoter!

"In general, the Government accepts the World Bank Report as the basis for our future development plan, but has had to stress the great difficulty we are likely to experience in raising as much capital overseas as the mission suggests to be necessary to finance the programme.

"On two points the Government does not entirely accept the proposals of the mission. It has decided in principle that Kenya should develop its own source of hydro-electric power at Seven Forks. Decisions on the timing and financing of the project must be taken in the near future if Kenya is to avoid a serious power shortage which would inhibit further development.

"The other major scheme is the Mombasa road. An expert on toll roads is being sought to advise on possible construction on a self-financing basis. Consideration will be given to going ahead with the Mombasa Road project if finance can be obtained on terms related to the expected economic return.

Recurrent Expenditure Over £40m.

"Recurrent expenditure estimates for 1963-64 total £40,960,000, or, excluding compensation and commuted pension payments to designated officers, £36,787,200.

"Our budgetary problem in November looked almost insoluble. We were faced with a deficit, excluding compensation and commuted pension payments, of some £5m. The first step was to see where economies could be made. Economies achieved amount to about £1½m. The remaining gap will be covered by revenue at existing rates of taxation, plus revenue derived from measures announced in April, and further measures.

"The largest single economy recommended by the Economy Commission was in non-African primary schools, at an estimated saving of £746,520. Expenditure estimates have been prepared on the assumption that tuition fees in Government European primary schools will go up from 175s. to 280s. per term, and in Asian primary schools from 57s. to 90s. per term. The Government grant to European, Asian and Arab aided primary schools will be reduced from 80% to 40% of approved salaries, and in secondary schools from 90% to 80%. No change is proposed in African school fees, except that the boarding element at secondary schools should go up by 50s. per annum.

"Other major economies, which I also regret, include the abolition of the diesel refund to farmers, although cereal farmers will be compensated to some extent by a fertilizer subsidy. I greatly regret the need for the suspension of the Kenya Regiment and other major changes, including those involving a very substantial reduction in expenditure by the Ministry of Works and the abolition of the grants to the European and Asian hospital insurance funds.

"We have managed to find some additional money for the encouragement of tourism.

Cost of the Army

"No provision has been included for the cost of the Army. Assuming that we achieve independence before April 1964, we shall have to find the necessary funds to cover the period between the end of the United Kingdom financial year at the end of March 1964 and the end of our financial year at June 30, 1964. The present estimate of the annual cost of the Kenya battalions of the King's African Rifles and the necessary supporting establishments for this force is £2,490,000. The exact size of the force that we shall need and the question of how our Army is to be financed will be discussed with the British Government; but we shall have to find over £2m. for our Army in 1964-65, and may have to find over one-quarter of this sum during the 1963-64 financial year.

"We shall balance our 1963-64 budget, but in 1964-65, in addition to taking over the cost of our Army, we shall have to find a further £400,000 for public debt over £90,000 for pensions, and also provide for a full year for diplomatic representation overseas. Additional costs on the Central

Government in 1964-65 will therefore exceed considerably the sum of £3m. It will be necessary to make further economies towards this essential additional expenditure.

"The expenditure we have to finance next year from Kenya sources is about £36.8m. Revenue will be about £35.9m.

"Obvious candidates for export taxes are coffee, tea, and sisal, but it is going to be increasingly difficult to sell our coffee owing to quota limitations, and the sale of increasing amounts of coffee in non-quota markets at lower prices will reduce the return to the producers.

"We have a very large programme for expansion of tea growing in the non-scheduled areas, and it is part of the agreement we have made with the sources of finance for this programme that we will not impose an export tax on tea grown as part of the scheme. It would be difficult to justify imposing an export tax on tea grown in some parts of the country but not in others.

"The price of sisal has gone up, but I am anxious that this should provide an incentive to the growing of more sisal, for which there is likely to be a market, and the imposition of an export tax could certainly not be regarded as an encouragement by the Government for more investment in sisal.

Export Taxes Unjustifiable

"My main reason for not imposing export taxes this year is that I regard them as an unjustifiable form of double taxation. I can see no logical reason why a company producing coffee, tea or sisal should be subjected to a greater taxation than a company producing butter, bicycles or boots. So far as individuals are concerned, a man's income from the crops he grows—whether for export or not—determines the amounts of graduated personal tax and income tax which he has to pay. I do not wish to add to the problems of regional authorities and local authorities by making more difficult the collection of graduated personal tax, which will be one of the main sources of revenue of local authorities, and I see no reason to impose an additional form of taxation on those income tax payers who happen to grow export crops.

"Export taxes have been a fruitful source of revenue in many countries, and although I have no intention of imposing such taxes at the moment, this is a matter that will have to be kept under review."

Increased duties on motor-cars and textiles would raise an additional £600,000, and purchase tax on second-hand vehicles was estimated to realize £200,000. Protective measures would include duties on flies for fishing; metal doors and windows; stainless steel, aluminium vats and tanks; putty and paints; tyres (suspended until local factories are operating); and cement (at 1s. 10cts. per 100lb.).

Revenue-gathering imposts to realize £170,000 at 25% would apply to imported fruit and vegetables; cups, medals and badges; toys and games; sheet, plate and float glass; handles for tools and implements; weighing and measuring appliances; refrigerators and air conditioners, excluding industrial refrigerating equipment; bricks, slates and tiles, lime and building plaster, sanitary ware, roofing materials and floor compounds; and plywood, pulp board and plastic and similar sheeting (partly to encourage a local pulp board industry).

Financing Local Authorities

"It is not for me to indicate to what extent local authorities—subject to the approval of regional authorities—will have to increase graduated personal tax with effect from January 1964. Professor Tress envisaged that in 1964-65 the total proceeds of graduated personal tax, including existing African district council rates, would be £3,600,000, and he suggested that the minimum charge for those with incomes of less than 1,200s. would have to be 50s., rising to 600s. for those with incomes of over 12,000s. If all those liable to the tax paid at these new rates, and if full collection was achieved, the amount of revenue obtained would be well over £5m. These estimates have been prepared on the basis of the tax registers; if they had been prepared in relation to the number of men on the voters' rolls they would have been higher!

"I believe that local authorities will find it necessary to go a long way towards implementing the Fiscal Commission proposals. These involve the abandonment of revenue from traders' licences. The financial viability of local authorities—and to a considerable extent of regional authorities—will depend on the success which they achieve in collecting graduated personal tax."

Taxation of Industry

Corporation tax on companies would rise by 1s. 50 cents with a corresponding reduction in the company rate, leaving the total tax on companies at 7s. 50 cents. The new rates would apply to the 1962 year of income. Controlled companies would pay the same. Additional revenue of £700,000 was expected.

"Government has frequently been urged to introduce some form of tax holiday or pioneer industry relief. Expert commissioners have advised against this measure. I have also discussed taxation matters and inducements for investment with potential investors in many overseas countries, including the U.K., West Germany, Italy, Switzerland, France and the U.S.A. I am very ready to consider any measures which will encourage investment, including tax holidays and pioneer industry relief, but what most potential investors ask for is not special tax concessions but assurances of fair and equitable treatment. The first consideration of course is whether his proposed investment will yield him a reasonable profit on a commercial basis within a reasonable period; and this is a commercial risk which it is for him to calculate.

"What he does want to be sure of is that he will be permitted to remit his profits and repatriate his capital if necessary. He wants to be assured that his enterprise will not be nationalized. On these issues the Government has given and will continue to give firm assurances to the overseas investor. Approved status is given under the Exchange Control Ordinance to investment from outside the sterling area, and I am glad to repeat the undertaking given by the Coalition Government that this Government will also treat no less favourably investments from the sterling area.

"To create the right climate for investment the Government must get over to potential investors that they do not regard profit as immoral, but as something which is essential if the country's economy is to go forward and if the Government is to get its income tax and wage-earners their wages".

Investment allowances in manufacturing industries would be increased to 20%. There would be no changes in individual income tax, but estate duty would be re-imposed from £5,000 upwards. Betting on overseas horse-racing was to be taxed.

"We shall have to devise a local salary structure related to East African conditions and taking into account the present very low incomes of the great majority. When the national income per head is not increasing increases in wages and salaries can be found only by providing wage and salary earners with a larger slice of the cake at the expense of others.

More Than £25m. from Britain

"Towards development expenditure of £14.1m. we shall receive from Britain £9.7m. of which £4.6m. will be for settlement schemes and the remainder for the basic development programme, including the Land Bank. In addition, the British Government will provide £700,000 for the purchase of what are called 'compassionate case farms'.

"Towards our recurrent budget of £40.96m. we shall receive we hope, £4,173,000, being the cost of Kenya's share of compensation and the commuted pension payments to designated officers; but this is still subject to negotiation.

"Outside the estimates, the British Government will meet the cost of the armed forces—£2.45m.—and find under the Overseas Aid Scheme a further £6½m. representing the overseas addition to the basic salaries of designated officers, plus education allowances and half the cost of passages, plus the British Government's share of compensation payments.

"Total assistance towards development will be about £10½m. and the total assistance towards recurrent expenditure some £15m. This is a formidable sum. We cannot rely on assistance on this scale after independence. The total comes to over £25m.

"From the facts and figures which I have given the pessimist could produce a very black picture. He could point to increasing unemployment; to a fall in the real national income per head; to quotas limiting the production of important export crops, such as coffee and pyrethrum; to the potential dangers of replacing large-scale farmers by smallholders; to the probable loss of many expatriate professional, technical and administrative staff that we can immediately replace; to the difficulties of getting into operation a complicated new Constitution; to the difficulty in raising adequate funds for development; and to the lack of any reserves on which to draw.

Mood of Economy and Realism

"And in 1965, before we start spending any new money on development, we shall have to find £1m. to repay or convert local loans, to pay for the contractor-owned road project, and to meet debts due on the Mombasa water supply.

"The optimist could argue that our exports are running at a record level; that tourism is showing remarkable buoyancy; that our receipts from tourism are steadily increasing; that the economic survey forecasts a rise of at least 5% in the national income this year; that large investment projects are well advanced on the way; and that the coming of independence will itself generate throughout the country increased effort

and increased activity. He could argue, in fact, that Kenya is on the threshold of a boom.

"An impartial observer, weighing up these two views, might, I fear, feel that the pessimist had the better case. I am sure that we can prove him wrong, but we shall not do so by ignoring or minimizing the very real difficulties ahead. We shall need good will and understanding within Kenya and within East Africa, and a great deal of help from our friends overseas.

"We must plan and work for a more prosperous Kenya. If we plan wisely and work hard we shall succeed; but we must not allow natural exuberance—generated by self-government and independence—to dissipate the present mood of economy and realism. The road ahead is uphill and we have over the next two years some very tricky corners to negotiate after which we may find a straighter and smoother thoroughfare on which we can accelerate. We can look ahead to better times, but must keep one eye at least on the road, or we may land in the ditch. Let us reach for the stars, but keep our feet on the ground".

Zanzibar Attains Self-Government

Sheikh Shamte Hamadi Now Prime Minister

ZANZIBAR became self-governing on Monday under the Zanzibar Nationalist Party and Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party coalition Government. The Z.P.P.P. leader, Sheikh Muhammad Shamte Hamadi, is now Prime Minister. Three new Ministers have been sworn in, bringing the Cabinet's strength up to eight.

Elections for an independent Government will be held over four days from July 8 in 31 constituencies. All three parties—the Opposition Afro-Shirazi Party is the third—have put up candidates in every constituency. Universal suffrage has been introduced, adding some 70,000 voters to the rolls.

Because the last elections in 1961 were marred by racial clashes in which 68 people were killed, 450 officers and men of the Scots Guards have been moved to the islands from Kenya.

The Z.N.P. general secretary, Abdulrahman Mohamed Babu, has quit the party after an argument about nominations, and has formed a new party, which will not contest the elections.

The Afro-Shirazi leader, Sheik Othman Shariff, arrived in London this week to seek a meeting with the Colonial Secretary.

East African Office in London

Mr. S. N. Okova Appointed London Agent

MR. S. N. OKOVA, Under-Secretary in the Treasury of the East African Common Services Organization, Nairobi, will on July 1 become Agent in charge of the East African Office in London. He is a bachelor, aged 32.

He took his B.A. (London) in economics, political science and geography in 1955, and was then appointed a consultant for the town and country planning department of the Uganda Government. Later he went to the U.S.A. for post-graduate studies in economics at Kansas and Columbia universities, and during that period was a research assistant in the student affairs department of the British Embassy in Washington and on the staff of the Bureau of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations in New York.

In mid-1960 Mr. Okova went to Addis Ababa to join the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. Later he was for some months lecturer in international trade and finance at the University of Addis Ababa. He joined E.A.C.S.O. last November.

Since the retirement of Sir Arthur Kirby as East African Commissioner in London, Mr. H. Griffin-Smith, who was for many years in the Colonial Service in Uganda, has been the officer in charge of the East African Office.

British & Commonwealth Shipping

THE BRITISH AND COMMONWEALTH SHIPPING CO., LTD., owners of the Union-Castle, Clan, King, Houston and other lines, reports consolidated profit after tax for 1962 at £991,147 (£942,131). Shareholders again receive 20%.

Earnings were up from £5.9m. to £6.7m., but since depreciation had to be raised from £4.6m. to £5.5m. and income from investments was down from £501,573 to £423,120, profits before tax were lower at £1,573,087, against £1,862,296. Tax, however, was sharply down from £879,742 to £521,667.

Issued capital totals £11.9m. The fleets of the subsidiaries stand in the books at £74.8m., other properties at £3.7m., and trade investments at just over £8m. Current liabilities exceed current assets by £2.3m. There are debentures outstanding for £3.8m. Reserves amount to £44.7m., and share premium account totals £12.2m.

The fleet of 76 vessels has a gross registered tonnage of 806,974. Another four ships were being built at the date of the report. Now tenders have been invited for two fast cargo vessels for the South African mail service.

Sir Nicholas Cayzer is the chairman of the group, which has three deputy chairmen, Lord Rotherwick, Mr. Bernard Cayzer, and the Hon. Anthony Cayzer. The other members of the board are Sir George Erskine, and Messrs. John S. Bevan, Rupert Munton, James A. Thomson, and W. L. Woof.

James Finlay & Company

JAMES FINLAY & CO., LTD., large tea growers in East Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the East, report group profit after tax for 1962 at £256,604. Shareholders receive 11%. Issued capital amounts to £3.5m. Fixed assets stand in the books at £1.7m., current assets less current liabilities at £751,887, and investments of a book value of £4.9m. have a market value of £7.3m.

The African Highlands Produce Co., Ltd., the Kenya subsidiary, had a crop of 8.22m. lb. of tea (6.88m. lb.) and paid 10%. The area under tea is now 9,781 acres, and another 203 acres are to be added this year.

Eastern Highlands of Rhodesia Plantations (Pvt.), Ltd., had a crop of 536,821lb. Another 126 acres were planted, and 261 acres are to be added this year.

Sir John Muir is the chairman, Mr. R. J. Clough the deputy chairman, and the other members of the board are Sir John Burns and Messrs. A. M. McGrigor, W. H. Marr, R. L. Manners, C. C. C. Bell, W. A. Tulloch, W. N. Mitchell, and J. L. Thomson. Mr. McGrigor, chairman from 1946 to 1952, and Mr. Marr, chairman from 1953 to 1957, will retire next month. Last August Mr. R. Brody, who had been a director since 1959 and given the company 48 years' service, retired.

Anglo American Investment Trust, Ltd., is again paying an interim dividend of R.125, or 12s. 6d. per share.

Workmen's compensation in Northern Rhodesia is to be taken over from insurance companies by the Government.

The board of Tanganyika Concessions, Ltd., last week declared a half-year's dividend on the 8% preference shares.

Goods shipped from Liverpool on May 10 via Lobito and the Benguela Railway were delivered in Ndola, Northern Rhodesia, on June 5.

Italian Refinery for Dar es Salaam

ENTE NAZIONALE IDROCARBURI, Italy's State oil company, signed a contract last week with the Government of Tanganyika to build a refinery in Dar es Salaam with an initial capacity of 600,000 tons, rising to 700,000 tons, and costing about £5m. It will have exclusive refining rights until Tanganyika's requirements exceed output from the plant. Last year's consumption in the country was about 320,000 tons. Negotiations have lasted two years.

The Tanganyika Government has the right to acquire up to 50% of the shares of Tiber-Tanganyikan Italian Petroleum Refining Company, which has been registered locally to operate the refinery. It is to be built within 20 months.

E.N.I., which is expected to draw some supplies of crude oil from Russia, was in competition for the contract with leading international oil groups. A few weeks ago it obtained exclusive refining rights in the Congo against an international consortium consisting of the Shell, Texaco, Sacony Mobil and Petrofina groups.

The Italian company has already refineries in Morocco, Tunisia and Ghana, though the last two are not yet operating.

Oil companies which have traded in Tanganyika for many years will now have to purchase their refined products from this E.N.I. subsidiary.

High Prices For Rhodesian Tobacco

A RUMOUR that the relatively high average price being paid for Rhodesian flue-cured tobacco was due to abnormally large U.K. purchases has been debated by the council of the Rhodesia Tobacco Association. Exhaustive inquiry established that there was no foundation for the suggestion that, in order to cushion the effect of any loss of Imperial preference on Rhodesian leaf imported into Britain, buyers had been instructed to purchase more than usual.

The association's senior vice-president, Mr. R. M. Taunton, said: "The rumour caused alarm in the tobacco-growing districts, because it implied not only that future U.K. purchases might be scaled down but also that pressure on the short current crop would discourage buyers from other markets. We have been assured that the relatively high average price paid truly reflects the improved characteristics of the leaf on offer this year, and that U.K. buyers have welcomed the opportunity to build up stocks of certain Rhodesian grades which were dangerously depleted by shortages of such grades in the drought-stricken crop sold here in 1962.

"The Tobacco Export Promotion Council has been in close touch with the situation regarding the future of Imperial preference and sees no immediate cause for alarm. The council of the R.T.A. will meet next month to consider a directive to growers on the size and nature of the 1963-64 season crop. Present indications are that no reduction in acreage will be recommended".

The Muljibhai Madhvani group in Uganda is to build a textile factory at Jinja costing more than £4m.

During the first six months of Zanzibar's current clove season deliveries totalled only 31,507 cwt., compared with 238,859 cwt. in the same period last year.



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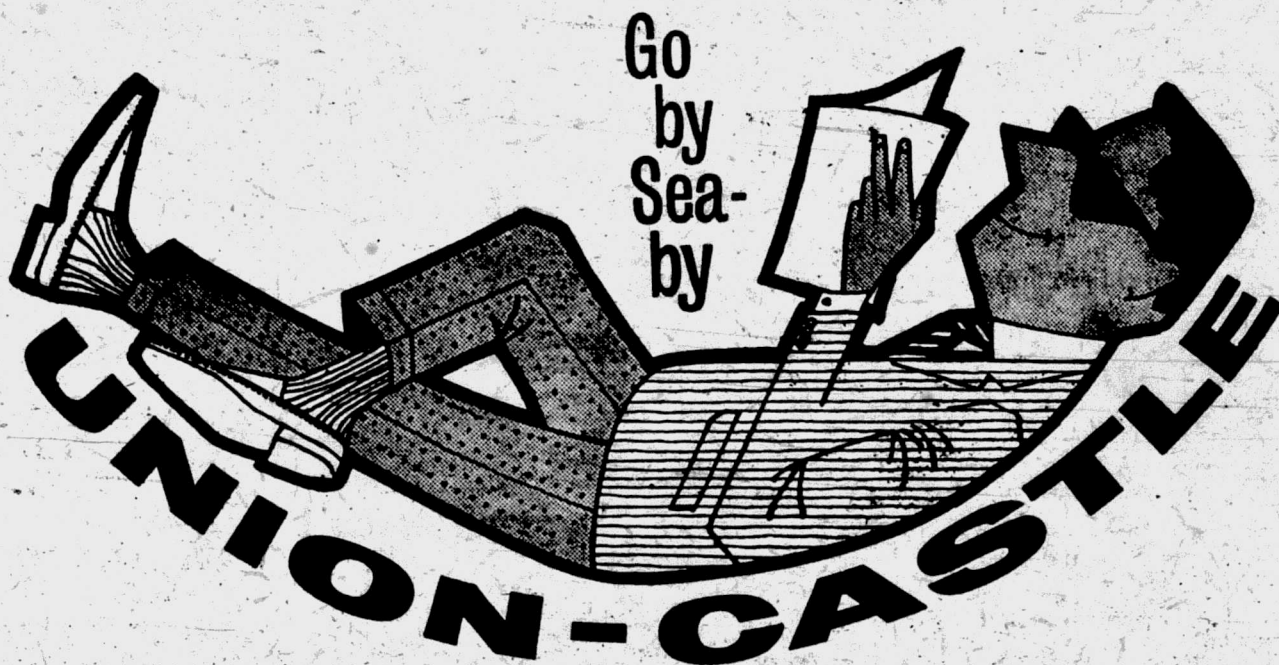
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